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# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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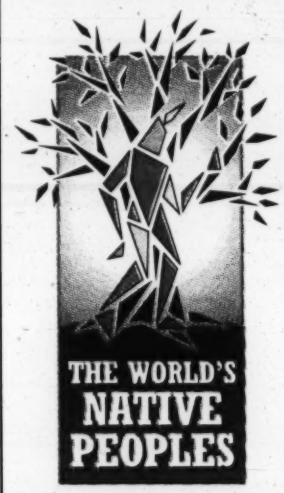
VOL. 85, NO. 135

BETTY PRESS

**CATTLE CAMP:** *A Dinka tribesman in southern Sudan tethers one of his animals. Although threatened by many forces, the Dinkas' traditional nomadic way of life persists.*




## Indigenous People Struggle For Recognition and Rights

In a three-part weekly series, the Monitor looks at the concerns of the world's native populations, one topic for the UN Human Rights Conference that opens in Vienna on June 14. Parts 2 and 3 of the series will provide an in-depth report by a staff writer and photographer detailing the survival challenges for Indians in Ecuador.

**PART 1, Today**
The world's native peoples: who they are and what they want. **PAGE 9**

**PART 2, June 16**
Ecuador Indians make a stand against oil interests to protect their rights and lands.

**PART 3, June 23**
A highland Indian in Ecuador fights for land; in the jungle, villagers protect the rain forest.

# Clinton's Ratings Slip, But Many in Public Still Trust His Motives

*Many voters feel president has vision for the country, but doubt his economic plan and key appointments*

**By John Dillin**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

TOO many tax increases. Too much government waste. Too little action to fix the economy.

Seven months after they voted Bill Clinton into the White House, Americans worry about all those problems, and many blame the president. Public confidence is waning, anxiety is waxing.

Most important, Americans fret that the economy, which they elected President Clinton to repair, is still sputtering like a dilapidated V-8, despite last month's drop in unemployment.

Recent polls from the Wirthlin Group, the New York Times/CBS, CNN/USA Today, and others find the public's enthusiasm for their young president is being quickly sapped. Voters are troubled by record-setting tax proposals, liberal appointees, the gays-in-the-military issue, and even the $200 haircut.

A new Field Poll finds Mr. Clinton's job-approval rating in California has fallen to just 31 percent. Nationwide, a CNN/USA Today poll done by Gallup puts Clinton at only 37 percent approval – a record low for any modern president.

Political scientist Earl Black says the early months of the Clinton White House have "put a lot of Democrats on the defensive. Clinton has lost a lot of credibility," he says.

What's gone wrong? Political analyst Charles Cook says it's the little things as well as the big ones that hurt the president and alienate supporters on Capitol Hill.

Mr. Cook, editor of "The Cook Political Report," points to one senator who found himself boxed in by White House guide-

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# Asian Trade, Security Issues Move To Top of US Diplomatic Priorities

**By Peter Grier**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

NORTH Korea's impending withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) highlights a geopolitical shift confronting the Clinton administration: For the United States, Asia is rapidly becoming the most vital region of the world.

The economic forces driving this shift are obvious. Transpacific trade has been exploding for the US in recent years, driven by the dynamic economies of East Asian nations. US exports to Japan alone now surpass those to Germany, France, and Italy combined.

Security problems are commanding US attention in Asia as well. On June 10, US diplomats will meet again with North Korean counterparts in a last-ditch effort to persuade Pyongyang to remain in the NPT. A nuclear-armed North Korea would be one of the most profound threats to US interests in the post-cold-war world. Yet the US military presence in the region is being reduced, as it is everywhere overseas.

US diplomacy has long been marked by internal struggles over whether Asia or Europe should receive more attention. Asian experts think that in coming years, finally, a US attitude they have long characterized as Eurocentric will change.

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# Israel's Closure of Territories Cuts Intimate Link Between East Jerusalem, West Bank

**By Peter Ford**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JERUSALEM

AS the closure of the occupied territories enters its third month, Palestinian residents of Arab East Jerusalem say the Israeli government is throttling that section of the city in order to cement its incorporation into the Jewish state.

Under the closure, which Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin ordered March 29 and 30 to quell political violence, Palestinians from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip are banned from entering Israel, including East Jerusalem, which Israel annexed after its capture in the 1967 war.

"Jerusalem is the center of Palestinian life – politically, culturally, religiously, and commercially," explains Samir Abdallah, a member of the Palestinian negotiating team at the Middle East peace talks.

Now cut off from the 1.7 million West Bankers who once fueled their businesses, East Jerusalem's Palestinian traders are facing hard times. The main shopping thoroughfare, Salah al-Din Street, is quiet, and shopkeepers say their sales have fallen by as much as 50 percent.

"When customers came from the West Bank to Jerusalem, they came intending to buy," recalls Azmi Taha, who runs the clothes shop his father established on Salah al-Din 60 years ago. "And if someone came just to visit a friend, he would pick

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**Christian Science Annual Meeting**
Church's board reports on a 'turnaround year,' expresses 'regret' for mistakes.
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**Canada's 'Red Tory'**
Heath Macquarrie is that rare bird, a left-leaning member of the Progressive Conservative Party.
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· EUROPE UPDATE ·

## Britain's Maastricht Debate Moves to House of Lords

BRITISH foes of the Maastricht Treaty on European integration intend to put their campaign against it onto a permanent footing, regardless of whether it is ratified by Parliament, reports correspondent Alexander MacLeod from London.

The strategy of long-term opposition to the treaty on European integration will be spearheaded by Baroness Margaret Thatcher, the former prime minister's close associates confirmed June 8.

Anti-Maastricht members of Parliament revealed their plans after Lady Thatcher told the upper chamber in a fiery speech that the treaty was "a blueprint for a superstate" and, in a jab at her successor, John Major, declared: "I personally could never have signed this treaty."

She went on to demand a national referendum on integration with Europe. "No elector in this country has been able to vote against Maastricht," Thatcher said. "It is disgraceful if we deny them that opportunity."

CALVIN HOM/REUTERS

BARONESS MARGARET THATCHER

Thatcher was speaking at the beginning of a two-day debate to which 130 members of the House of Lords (an unusually high number) were expected to contribute.

The House of Lords seldom votes to overturn policy that has been determined in the lower chamber, but constitutionally it is able to do so. A reversal of policy forced on the government by the upper chamber would be a severe embarrassment to Mr. Major.

Even if Maastricht were approved, its dissenters have vowed to continue their attacks on EC policy, said Euroskeptic parliamentarian Sir Teddy Taylor.

The rebels' future strategy would consist of attacks on EC rules whenever they impinged on Britain's political sovereignty, a source close to Thatcher said.

## Croat-Muslim Clashes

CROAT and Muslim-led forces of the Muslim government of Bosnia-Herzegovina fought fierce battles south of Travnik June 8 after the troops won control of the strategic central Bosnian town, the Associated Press reported.

Thousands of Croats fled the fighting, even seeking refuge with the Bosnian Serbs who have been battling both Bosnian Croats and Muslims, UN officials said.

British UN peacekeepers in the area could not confirm Croatian reports of hundreds of deaths in the battle for Travnik, and were unable either to evacuate wounded or dead or get medical supplies into the town.

Col. Alastair Duncan, commander of the British peacekeepers, said he believed the Bosnian government forces were making a push to secure a supply route for their troops.

Scores of bedraggled Bosnian Croat troops and civilians were reported moving toward Vitez from Novi Travnik, where the Croats abandoned a strategic crossroads.

Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban, in a letter to Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and international mediators, charged that 350 Croats were held in Travnik "in some kind of camp, exposed to every torture, massacre and shooting."

"The Croatian population in that area is in danger of total destruction," the letter said.

Thousands of Croats fled weekend battles in Travnik and crossed Bosnian Serb lines on Mount Vlasic just north of the town, according to UN and Croat officials and media reports.

**– Compiled by Eric C. Evarts**

INTERNATIONAL

# US Changes Its Strategy To Help Ukraine Disarm

*Aspin's visit confirms new era in relations with former Soviet state*

**By Chrystyna Lapychak**
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

KIEV, UKRAINE

THE visit by US Defense Secretary Les Aspin June 6-7 marks improved US relations with this former Soviet republic and a policy to encourage nuclear disarmament that includes a carrot as well as a stick.

The Clinton administration appears to have moved away from a single-minded demand that Ukraine must ratify two nuclear arms accords and surrender the nuclear weapons it inherited from the former Soviet Union or face Western retaliation.

Defense Secretary Aspin brought several proposals aimed at encouraging rapid ratification by addressing Ukrainian security concerns, particularly regarding their huge Russian neighbor.

Ukrainian officials were pleased that Washington seems ready to move away from viewing Ukraine through Russian eyes.

"This visit, the first ever by an American defense secretary to Ukraine, confirms the intentions of the US administration to start a new era in relations with Ukraine," Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov said at the conclusion of the two-day visit.

"We see a better understanding of our security concerns and an eagerness to solve these problems by the American side," he said.

The Ukrainians were most pleased that Secretary Aspin agreed to continue talks to find solutions to issues between Ukraine and Russia that have hindered ratification of the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Aspin reiterated an offer for the US to mediate the disputes.

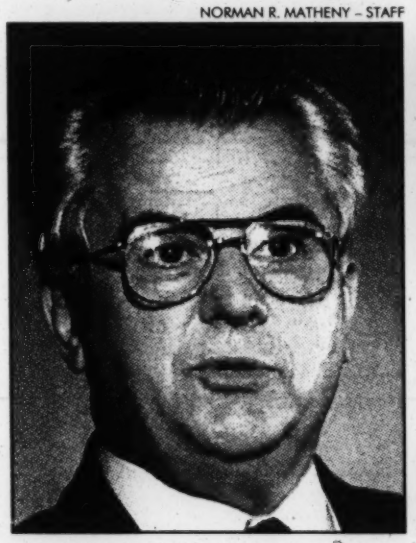
Aspin also proposed a compromise on the thorny issue of whether and when the nuclear warheads currently based in Ukraine should be transferred to Russia for eventual dismantling. He offered to help Ukraine implement the START I treaty, which would eliminate 130 multiple-warhead SS-18 missiles based in Ukraine, by placing the warheads into temporary storage on Ukrainian territory. The warheads would be monitored by international inspectors and eventually transferred to Russia for the extraction of the nuclear material.

Aspin and Mr. Morozov agreed to form a joint group to reexamine the cost of disarmament, adding that the US may contribute more than its previous compensation offer of $175 million.

The US proposals reflect growing concern that Ukraine is moving to retain at least some of the nuclear weapons and to gain operational control over them. According to an informed US source, it also flows from the view that the previous policy of trying to browbeat Ukraine into denuclearizing was counter-productive and failed to recognize legitimate Ukrainian worries over potential Russian threats to their security.

But the US proposals have already drawn a negative reaction from Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who met Aspin on June 5 in Garmisch, Germany. General Grachev reportedly dismissed suggestions that the US should mediate over the status and use of the over 1,600 nuclear warheads based in Ukraine.

NORMAN R. MATHENY – STAFF



**KRAVCHUK:** *The Ukrainian president says his country will ratify key nuclear treaties this summer.*

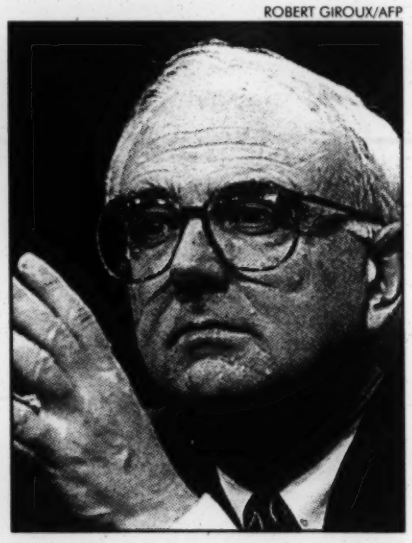
The Russian defense official urges instead the rapid transfer of the warheads to Russia and warns against Ukrainian possession.

"By its practical ... actions, the military leadership of Ukraine, without much publicity, is striving to retain the nuclear weapons," Grachev said in an interview with Nezavisimaya Gazeta published June 8. "At the same time the security of the weapons on Ukrainian territory is deteriorating. We are not allowed to change parts and systems in time, to carry out routine maintenance. The supervision by our scientists of the status of the nuclear warheads designed by them is impossible. In a word, there is a problem here and a very serious one."

Kiev officials say the Russian concern is linked to their desire to assert ownership of the weapons. "It seems to me that any assistance from anyone which would speed up the process of making Ukraine nuclear-free in the future should be welcomed," says an aide to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

President Kravchuk told Aspin that the parliament would ratify the START I and NPT treaties before it recesses in early July. But the Ukrainian leader faces significant opposition to ratification. Fearing potential aggression from Russia and resentful of what they view as the West's lack of concern over Ukraine's needs, some legislators advocate that Ukraine remain a nuclear power.

ROBERT GIROUX/AFP



**ASPIN:** *The US defense secretary said that the US would boost its compensation to spur disarmament.*

Others link approval to gaining formal security guarantees from all the nuclear powers and to getting financial aid to cover the expense of disarmament. These views are shared in part by the Ukrainian government.

"I think the idea of a multilateral security agreement is a normal, responsible suggestion," says the presidential aide. "The West should understand that the Ukrainian parliament declared Ukraine's intention to become nuclear-free ... when there was still, at least legally, the Soviet Union, and when no other state made territorial claims on Ukraine nor were there any unfriendly acts toward Ukraine. Now Ukraine has to think twice," the official says.

■ *Daniel Sneider contributed to this article from Moscow.*

# Germany Considers Easier Citizenship For Its Immigrants

**By Francine S. Kiefer**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BONN

MOMENTUM is building to give Turks and other long-residing foreigners in Germany easier access to German citizenship.

If what is now being debated actually becomes fact, it will be a major break from Germany's narrow citizenship law, which dates back to 1913 and is based on whether an applicant is of German descent.

The growing political support for easier citizenship for longtime resident aliens springs from the May 29 arson attack in the town of Solingen, in which five Turks died in a blaze allegedly set by four German youths. Turks have been targeted in almost nightly incidents this month.

Those advocating the easing of citizenship requirements admit that skinheads and neo-Nazis do not stop to look at a person's passport before attacking them. But they reason that, if foreigners were better integrated into German society, Germans eventually would cease to think of them as *Fremder*, or strangers.

Turks, by far the largest minority group in Germany, have been living here since the early 1960s, when they were first invited to this country as "guest workers" in German factories and mines. Numbering 1.8 million, their second and third generation children go to German schools and speak fluent German. Although the Turks have equal access to Germany's social services, they still cannot vote.

"If we hope to stop individual discrimination [against Turks and other foreigners], we must stop institutional discrimination against them," says Georgios Tsapanos, spokesman for Bonn's Office for Foreigners' Affairs.

In a June 7 television interview, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said the country's citizenship law should be reexamined. "We must find a solution for these young people who were born in Germany, who have foreign heritage, and who want to remain here," Mr. Kohl said.

Kohl's political party, the Christian Democratic Union, and his coalition partner, the Free Democrats, both announced June 7 that they favor easier access to citizenship for longtime foreign residents. After Solingen, the opposition Social Democrats announced a campaign in support of the idea.

Faruk Sen, director of the Center for Turkish Studies in Essen, Germany, says the new stance on citizenship is a direct result of the Solingen murders.

"The federal government needs to make some gesture. They know the violent acts will continue. It's politically important that Turkish disappointment doesn't grow," Mr. Sen says.

Although the politicians are falling in line behind a more liberalized citizenship law, they cannot agree on what it should look like. The most talked about – and most controversial – proposal is that of dual citizenship. This option is available in some form in countries such as France, Britain, the United States, and Canada.

Since 1991, new laws allow foreigners meeting certain requirements to become German citizens. Turks say the criteria are too restrictive, although they emphasize that the greatest hindrance is the requirement that foreigners must give up their previous citizenship to become German citizens.

THE reasons behind Turkish demands for dual citizenship are "above all emotional ones," Mr. Tsapanos says. "The Turks in Germany are a special situation which can't be compared with other countries."

For instance, while many emigrants heading for the US are purposely closing the door on their homeland, Turks in Germany maintain close ties with Turkey.

Originally, both the German government and the Turkish guest workers themselves expected they would return home. But that didn't happen. Now Turks here lead double lives, owning property in both countries, running businesses here and in Turkey, and visiting their homeland annually. Still, polls show that 90 percent of Turks want to stay in Germany.

The Social Democrats, the Free Democrats, and some members of the Christian Democrats favor dual citizenship. But Erwin Huber, general secretary of the conservative Christian Social Union, another member of Kohl's coalition government, argues against it. Dual citizenship leads to "legal uncertainty" and "loyalty conflicts," he told the German magazine Focus.

MANOOCHER/AFP/FILE

**NO RIGHT TO VOTE:** *Kuwaiti women march in front of a polling station in October 1992, protesting their exclusion from voting in National Assembly elections. All over the world, women's groups are demanding greater recognition of abuses of their rights.*

# Women Claim Place on Agenda At UN Human Rights Meeting

**By Elizabeth Levitan Spaid**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

FLORENCE BUTEGWA doesn't stop to ponder when asked about the key human rights abuses in Africa: "One of the major issues is violence against women," says the regional coordinator of Women in Law and Development in Africa, a Zimbabwe-based women's rights organization. "It is really widespread, increasing in terms of the systemic nature and the injuries."

Ms. Butegwa lists other violations against women that occur in many countries: female infanticide, coerced abortion, and mass rape amid armed conflict. She contends that women suffer disproportionately under economic structural adjustment programs that cut spending on health, education, and employment.

These abuses have never received much attention by the governments of most countries or by the United Nations, activists say. But on June 14 that could change as Butegwa and hundreds of other women from around the world converge in Vienna for the UN World Conference on Human Rights. The activists say they will try to force the UN to place abuses against women on the global human rights agenda.

The coalition of women that has organized for the conference "represents the emergence of a global women's human rights movement that didn't exist five years ago," says Dorothy Thomas, director of the Women's Rights Project at Human Rights Watch in Washington.

Women activists agree that the 1985 UN Women's Conference in Nairobi was a catalyst in generating the momentum among women's groups to organize on a global scale. Since that conference, scores of women's groups have sprung up, especially in third-world countries. For the first time they began using the framework of human rights to spotlight the abuses of women.

The network of women has so far gathered more than 250,000 signatures in 121 countries in a petition campaign to pressure the UN to recognize women's human rights. They are calling for:

■ An appointment of a special UN rapporteur on violence against women and discrimination.

■ A special study of violence against women at the human rights level.

■ Training for all UN human rights professionals in gender-specific rights abuses.

Many abuses against women have not been recognized as human rights abuses because they are considered private matters, says Susana Fried of the Center for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers University in New Jersey.

Such "private" abuses run the gamut. In India, society often turns the other cheek when brides are killed in disputes over their dowries. In Brazil, men who kill their wives for committing adultery – or even if the husband merely suspects adultery – can be acquitted by justifying the act as a matter of honor. In the United States, Ms. Fried says, domestic violence is regarded as a family affair.

"Generally, human rights has been defined as involving the state as the actor committing the violation, or actions taking place in public," Fried says. But when the victims are women – as in mass rapes – the crimes are not pursued as human rights abuses, she asserts. The publicity surrounding the abuse of Muslim women in Bosnia, these activists say, is an exception.

"THERE is a great willingness to [overlook] the rights of women," for the sake of cultural, religious, or ethnic traditions, says Niamh Reilly, also of the Center for Women's Global Leadership.

In some African and Middle Eastern countries, girls are circumcised so they will remain pure for their marriage. The ritual, which is performed by women, results in genital mutilation. Yet it is widely accepted because women who aren't circumcised have a difficult time finding husbands. Although women have increasingly protested this ritual, they are often accused of trying to destroy their cultural heritage.

Despite the strong coalition of women at the conference, activists acknowledge it is unlikely the world community will embrace their reforms.

"For the conference to produce any results, it will have to move beyond a kind of grudging acceptance that women's rights constitute human rights to actually implementing concrete reforms," says Margaret Schuler, director of the Institute for Women, Law, and Development in Washington.

The involvement of women "is not going to stop after this conference," adds Ms. Thomas. "The UN has been put on notice, and it won't be able to just stand back anymore."

**CLINTON** from page 1

lines on a new federal judge nomination. The only choices, the senator suggested, were "fully unqualified," Cook says.

"The senator found it absolutely disgusting," Cook reports, "but because he was opposing the president on so many other things, he felt obliged" to go along.

Cook says rather than filling key federal jobs with "accomplished government officials," the president is picking "people from think tanks, from the academic world, without a real grounding in the world of governing." That is leading to serious mistakes, he says.

All this grumbling disturbs some outside observers. Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, recently in Washington, said: "I think any serious observer would tell you how silly it is to pass judgment on the president of the United States after 90 or 100 days." Mr. Mulroney called Clinton "an impressive leader" and suggested Americans should give him a break.

Indeed, Clinton wins admiration from voters on some important fronts. The Times/CBS poll found that 69 percent of Americans think Clinton "has a vision of where he wants to lead the country." Some 62 percent say he "cares about the needs and problems of people like them."

On the other side, support for Clinton's economic plan skidded this month to just 34 percent, down from 53 percent in February.

Cook suggests Clinton's problems fall into seven categories:

- Discipline and focus. During the campaign, the president promised to focus like a laser beam on the economy. Instead, Cook blames the president for an unfocused, "Coleman-lantern approach" that highlights every issue equally.
- Economics. Americans were ready for a tough-but-fair plan to get the US out of a rut, polls show. But Clinton would raise taxes sharply – and leave most spending intact. Voters see that as a "lack of political will," Cook says.
- Strained Democratic relations. The party controls both Congress and the White House. When Clinton arrived, three out of four voters thought government would work better that way. Today, only one in three still believes it.
- Strained Republican relations. Moderate Republicans, especially in the Senate, were ready to work with Clinton. He ignored them, and is paying the price.
- Financial markets. Clinton promised to be "a different kind of Democrat." That buoyed markets. But his big tax package has dashed those hopes and deflated business confidence.
- Escapism. Heading out to the hustings every few weeks won't help Clinton, Cook says. The problem isn't communications. It is substance. Proposals should match rhetoric.
- Diversity over experience. Cook sees the administration filled with inexperienced aides, a problem he says is "compounded by a tone of self-righteousness."

The Wirthlin poll finds public confidence at new lows. Among those who are particularly worried that the country is going in the wrong direction are the middle class (earning $30,000 to $60,000), whites, voters over 55 (especially women), independents, Republicans, and voters in New England, the Farm Belt, the Deep South, and the Pacific Coast.

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**N. KOREA** from page 1

"Today no region in the world is more important for the US than Asia and the Pacific. Tomorrow, in the 21st century, no region will be as important," said Winston Lord, assistant secretary of state for East Asia and Pacific affairs, at his confirmation hearing earlier this spring.

The spider web of key relationships between nations in Asia exemplifies the new difficulties for US diplomacy.

Take the problem of North Korea: Preventing North Korea from obtaining the atomic bomb is one of America's highest security priorities. And China is key to this effort, as Beijing is the closest thing to a friend North Korea has. Thus US attempts to get China to clean up its own human rights and trade problems risk damaging the US campaign against nuclear proliferation on the Korean Peninsula.

The White House is attempting a delicate balancing act with China. By proposing renewal of most-favored-nation (MFN) trading status this year, with the condition that MFN could be withdrawn if China doesn't make progress on human rights, US officials are trying to remain engaged with the rip-roaring Chinese economy without ignoring higher concerns. "It's a political finesse that is a healthy way of avoiding disagreement," argues Robert Oxnam, president emeritus of the Asia Society.

Meanwhile, the US relationship with one of its closest allies in the region, Japan, is now as badly strained as it has been at any time in recent years.

The Clinton administration has taken a tougher line on trade with Japan than its predecessor, with some US officials calling for quotas ensuring a specific amount of access for foreign goods in the Japanese economy.

**In considering policy changes, some argue for a strategy that would recognize the real challenges in Asia as economic, not military.**

Japan, for its part, complains that the US talks the free-trade talk, but walks a managed-trade walk. Partly at Tokyo's urging, some other nations in the region, such as Indonesia, have also begun to denounce US trade policies.

Since World War II the US has shouldered considerable responsibility for the maintenance of Asian stability, through forces deployed in Korea, Japan, and, until recently, the Philippines.

Though the Pentagon has indicated it does not intend to withdraw from Asia, this presence is being reduced. The question is, will this lead to a change in the overarching US approach to the region?

Some argue for a strategy that would recognize the real challenges in Asia as economic, not military. Richard Ellings, director of the National Bureau of Asian Research, talks about an "engaged balancer" strategy that would use US foreign policy to bolster technological, industrial, and financial competitiveness.

Nations such as China and Vietnam view the US as a strategic counterweight to regional economic powerhouse Japan, argues Mr. Ellings. He says he feels the US is missing an opportunity to exercise much influence by hesitating to recognize Vietnam. "We would get a certain percentage of their market just by showing up," he says.

**ISRAEL** from page 1

something up on the way, even if it was only a sandwich. Now that is finished."

Business in East Jerusalem is down by between 35 and 40 percent, according to a survey by Jerusalem's Arab Chamber of Commerce. "We have sent two memorandums of complaint to the prime minister," says Chamber President Faiek Barakat. "Unfortunately, we have not received a reply to either of them."

Jerusalem, a city without much industry, has always depended on surrounding villages to provide a market for its goods and services. "East Jerusalem and the West Bank are like a chain, all one entity linked together," says Nabil Feidy, a Palestinian money changer. "People live in the West Bank and own businesses in Jerusalem, and vice versa."

Such people, and others with an urgent need to visit Jerusalem, are issued temporary permits, explains Amir Heshin, Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek's Jewish adviser on Arab affairs. But "the permits make it seem as if East Jerusalem and the West Bank are two different entities, and this is a very artificial definition."

Jerusalem is key to Palestinian life in every field, and each one has been disrupted by the closure, which Israeli officials say is now permanent policy.

Religious life in the holy city has been turned upside down. Palestinian Christians from such West Bank towns as Bethlehem were forbidden to attend Easter services at the Holy Sepulcher. West Bank Muslims have only recently been allowed to pray at the Dome of the Rock, and then on condition that they are bused directly to the mosque, and immediately bused away at the end of the service each Friday.

Political life, too, is complicated by the closure, as Palestinian peace negotiators struggle to convince their people that the talks are worthwhile. Meetings cannot be held in Jerusalem if any of the participants come from elsewhere on the West Bank.

"Now we ourselves have to move to find people, and it is not easy to find offices that can host meetings in the villages and towns," Dr. Abdallah says.

Medical services have also been disrupted; Jerusalem hospitals are now off limits to West Bankers unless they wait in line for hours for a special Israeli Army permit, an ordeal for many sick people. Patient numbers are down at all Jerusalem hospitals, and at the largest, Mokassed, "more than half our patients say they have come illegally, going up mountains and down valleys to bypass the checkpoints," says hospital director Amin Thalji.

"The closure is political, to send a message that Jerusalem is part of Israel, to force facts on the ground outside the negotiating room," Dr. Thalji complains.

Mr. Heshin, Mayor Kollek's adviser, has no doubts that the whole of Jerusalem must remain Israeli, but he says his government has not thought out the implications of the closure.

"The Israeli authorities' attitude to East Jerusalem must be changed 180 degrees," he argues. "The closure has shown us beyond any doubt that East Jerusalem cannot be divorced from the West Bank. But this does not mean as far as we are concerned that East Jerusalem is part of the West Bank."

That outlook, of course, is diametrically opposed to the Palestinians' view that Jerusalem is their capital, and to the international community's view that East Jerusalem is as much occupied territory as the West Bank.

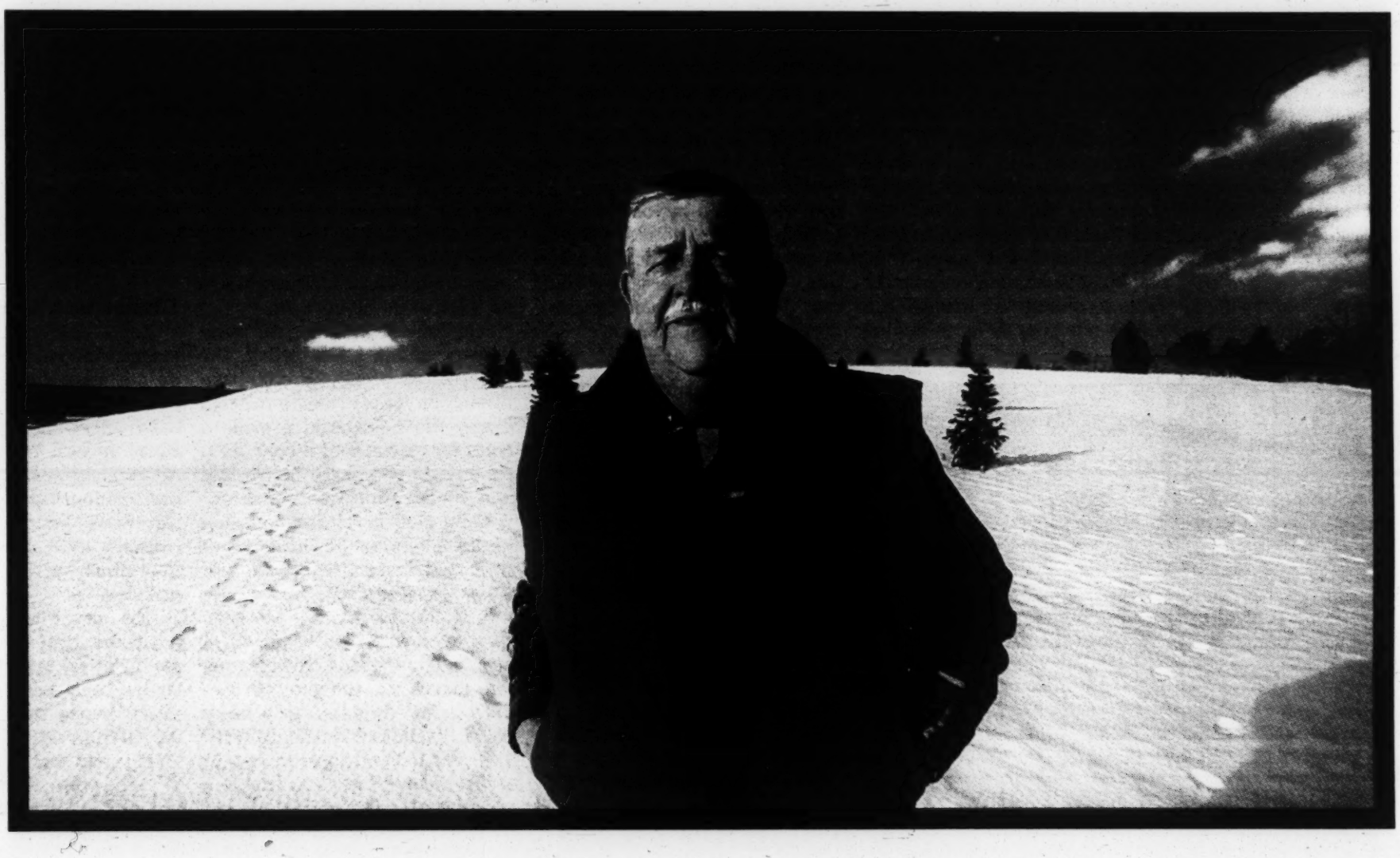
By closing East Jerusalem, along with the rest of Israel, to West Bankers, the government "is trying to preempt the outcome of the negotiations," argues Abdallah, and make it clear that Jerusalem's status has been left off the peace agenda.

"We can put up with the economic hardships and the social problems that the closure causes," says Ismael Tazziz, a pharmacist on Salah al-Din. "What really worries me is the destiny of Jerusalem. We will never accept that it is part of Israel, but what the Israelis are doing is a de facto situation."

## CORRECTION

In the June 2 daily and the June 4-10 world editions of the Monitor, the page 6 article on the Boston-area water and sewer rate controversy wrongly referred to the $800 bill received by Lovie Elam of Milton, Mass., as a "quarterly" bill. It should have said "semi-annual."

# *Mayor* OSCAR WELSH won't hesitate to tell you THAT NUCLEAR ENERGY HELPS KEEP HIS TOWN *clean.*



Oscar Welsh is mayor of a small Pennsylvania town not far from Bald Eagle Mountain. He lives eight miles from a nuclear plant that started generating electricity about 10 years ago.

Mayor Welsh is a man who prefers to arrive at his own conclusions. "I don't see any reason to be afraid of nuclear energy," he says. "It's a clean, efficient way to generate electricity without polluting the air."

America has more than 100 nuclear plants. Because they don't burn anything to make electricity, they help protect our environment and preserve our natural resources for future generations. All while providing enough electricity for 65 million homes in the U.S.

No single energy source is the whole answer to America's energy needs. But, as Oscar Welsh will tell you, nuclear energy is part of the answer.

For more information, write to the U.S. Council for Energy Awareness, P.O. Box 66080, Dept. W, Washington, D.C. 20035.

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NUCLEAR ENERGY MEANS CLEANER AIR

ECONOMY

*While addressing lost property rights of its indigenous people, the government is trying not to harm mining and farming interests*

# Australian Farmers, Miners Fight Land Claim

**By Catherine Foster**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SYDNEY

AUSTRALIA'S farmers and mining companies are troubled by uncertainty over land ownership arising from the claims of the nation's indigenous people to their ancestral territory.

"If the government doesn't put practical rules in place, it's going to have an impact on foreign investment, and will also have an impact on Australian companies making decisions on whether they continue exploration at the same rate or go outside the country," says Geoffrey Ewing, assistant director of the Australia Mining Council in Canberra.

An historic High Court ruling a year ago opened the door to Aboriginals and Torres Straits Islanders to file land claims under certain conditions. The "Mabo" ruling recognized a new class of ownership, native title. But it did not define what that meant.

The uncertainty had mining and pastoral groups, concerned about their leases, calling for clarification. They worry that they might be forced to pay compensation to Aborigines under the federal Racial Discrimination Act of 1975, even though the leases were made before native title was recognized.

### Redressing wrongs

Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, who make up 1.5 percent of the population, want the land back that white Australians have occupied for nearly 200 years. The Australian government wants to redress the wrongs. But it does not want to harm mining and farming interests, especially in a recession.

Some conservative premiers of resource-rich states, which have the most to lose, have warned of stark consequences of the ruling. Richard Court, premier of Western Australia, said Mabo would create an "apartheid" situation. The Queensland premier, Wayne Goss, warned that investors would launch a "capital strike."

At a Council of Australian Governments meeting that began June 8 Prime Minister Paul Keating, who publicly supports the Mabo ruling, debated state premiers and territory heads over creating a national strategy to help clarify Mabo. Among the issues were a definition of native title, whether Aborigines could veto development, and the question of compensation. The marathon meeting did not come to a conclusion, but one thing was clear: Mabo could not be overturned by legislation, as several premiers hoped.

This meeting is the latest effort by the government to resolve some of the uncertainty over the ruling. In November, Prime Minister Keating set up an 11-month consultation, which he is chairing, among all groups who have an interest in the decision.

**'If the government doesn't put practical rules in place, it's going to have an impact on foreign investment.'**

***– Geoffrey Ewing, Australia Mining Council in Canberra***

On June 3, the one-year anniversary of the Mabo ruling, the government issued a 100-page discussion paper that aimed to clarify the issues and provide a basis for discussion. It calls for a tribunal to determine native title and funding for Aborigines appearing in it. It validates existing leases until June 30. It also says that land reverts to native title when leases expire.

The discussion paper was seen as a goodwill gesture, aimed at placating both sides. But right before its release, the goodwill factor was compromised by a hasty deal between the Northern Territory and federal governments to secure mining leases to enable a huge $A250 million (US$360 million) lead-zinc-silver mine in the Northern Territory to go through.

The move outraged many Aborigines, who said the move extinguishes native title.

### New potential

While the Mabo ruling did not give native title precedence over existing freehold title, it did create a new potential for Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders to claim land under Australian law.

"From our point of view, the delay by the government in producing principles has had two consequences: unnecessary apprehension among landholders and unrealistic expectations among Aborigines," says Rick Farley, executive director of the National Farmers' Federation.

Aborigines say the whole debate over land rights is being done without their input and ignores the real question of human rights that Mabo raised. **(Indigenous people's series, P.9)**

"The discussion paper couches the debate in terms of real estate and land-management issues," says Mick Dodson, federal Social Justice Commissioner. "It's not really a question of the nature of the title, it's a question of whether this nation is prepared to respect and defend Aboriginal and Islander interests in land."

Several land-rights claims by Aborigines have done much to exacerbate the tension. The Wiradjuri people have filed a claim to traditional lands amounting to one-third the pastoral and grazing lands of New South Wales. Another claim would encompass the central business district of Sydney.

### Claims won't stand

Legal observers say those claims would never stand up; they do not meet dictates spelled out in the ruling. Mabo only allows native title to be asserted over vacant, unused Crown land. And Aboriginals must prove a continuous relationship with the land. In New South Wales, with its prime coastal and agricultural land, Aboriginals were early driven off or killed.

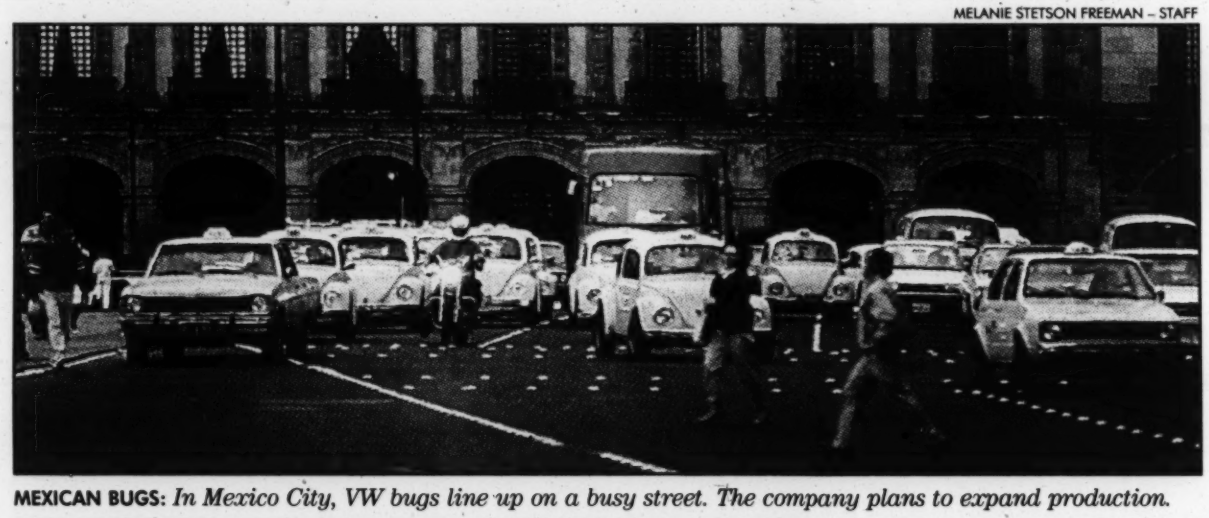
The lawyer heading the Wiradjuri claim, Paul Coe, chairman of the National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Service Secretariat, says: "Native title is defined by the Aboriginal groups which possess it; and that means you have to sit down with Aboriginal groups for them to delineate the nature of native title and their understanding of it. The same question could be asked by Aboriginal people what does sovereignty mean?"

Farming and mining spokesmen agree it is important for all groups to sit down and discuss the issues.

"At the moment, the debate is being conducted at arm's length, by the press," Mr. Farley says. "We accept and recognize that Mabo is here to stay. You can't put your head in the sand, you've got to deal with it. There needs to be a national approach. The political challenge to the Prime Minister is to garner agreements between states, Aboriginal groups and industry."

Financial markets, mining and pastoral groups, and the tourism and real estate industries are anxiously awaiting the government's clarification of a historic high court land rights decision.

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF



**MEXICAN BUGS:** *In Mexico City, VW bugs line up on a busy street. The company plans to expand production.*

# Volkswagen Considers Exporting Its Popular 'Bug' Back Home to Germany

**By Francine Kiefer**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BONN

VOLKSWAGEN is considering bringing the VW bug back home. Some 21 million of the little rounded cars have rolled off assembly lines, a world record in the auto industry.

When Volkswagen decided to expand production of the beetle from Mexico to Brazil next year, it thought it might use the new capacity to export the car back to its birthplace – Germany.

Though the bug has not been produced here for 15 years, Germans are still in love with it. It is not unusual for an owner of a *Käfer* (beetle) to return to his parked car and find a prospective buyer waiting to make an offer.

Volkswagen's marketers argue that a beetle renaissance would give the company a much-needed image boost. Last year, profits plunged 87 percent. But there is also "serious opposition" to the idea at Volkswagen's Wolfsburg headquarters, says spokesman Dietmar Fritsche.

Mr. Fritsche traveled to Mexico last year to celebrate the 21-millionth bug. "I climbed in myself – and I was disappointed. It simply isn't up to the standards of today's cars," he says. Were Volkswagen to import the car, the company would have to apply for a license to sell it, ensuring it met German environmental and safety requirements.

Besides, Fritsche argues, other carmakers are coming up with cute, small, energy-efficient, and low-priced cars.

At its annual shareholders' meeting June 3, Volkswagen Chairman Ferdinand Piëch announced that VW planned to build a factory to make a new "people's car" that would be "the most affordable model in the world." Such a car would be stiff competition for the under-powered beetle.

Fritsche says VW will decide by the end of the year whether to import the beetle.

# Canada's Big Five Banks Make Money After Losses

**By Fred Langan**
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TORONTO

THE "Big Five" Canadian banks have returned to healthy profitability this year. Three had suffered heavy loan losses last year, mainly from loan exposure to the collapsed Olympia and York property empire.

Canadian banking is dominated by these banks, which do more than 80 percent of banking business in Canada. The profitability of the big Canadian banks is, in many ways, a report card on Canada's economy.

Despite some losses, commercial and residential real estate loans performed well for the banks so far this year. The real earnings boost came from the liveliness of the Toronto Stock Exchange, which has been outperforming Wall Street this year. Deregulation in the 1980s allowed Canada's banks to buy or start brokerage subsidiaries.

In the second quarter of 1993, almost all of these subsidiaries have turned in record earnings.

"With the exception of Toronto Dominion, every bank's investment operation has grown," says Alain Tuchmaier, a banking analyst with the Toronto brokerage firm of McLean McCarthy.

The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC) is the latest to report a profit. The CIBC reported earnings of $180 million (Canadian; US$141 million) in the second quarter of this year; it lost $440 million for the same period last year.

The CIBC was the largest Canadian lender to Olympia and York. In the second quarter of last year, it had loan loss provisions of $1.19 billion. The growth of its brokerage subsidiary, Wood Gundy Inc., helped push up the bank's non-interest income by 22 percent.

The Royal Bank of Canada, the largest in the country, earned $243 million, up 15 percent from the same period last year. The Royal was also heavily exposed to Olympia and York and other property loans.

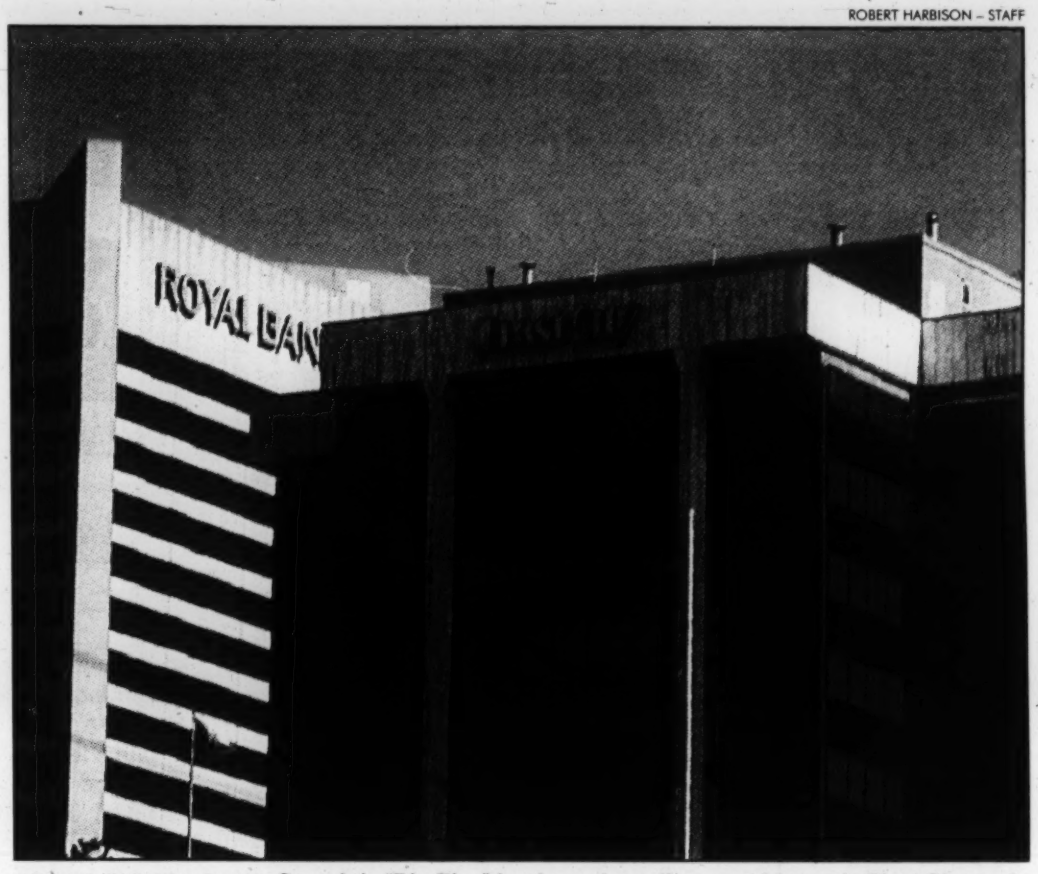
The bank is performing poorly in traditional banking – loans – while making money in "non-banking" areas such as its brokerage subsidiary, according to one analysis. RBC Dominion Securities Inc. had profits of $30 million.

Analysts say the Royal and the Toronto Dominion, the fifth largest bank, still have too many commercial real estate loans, especially in Toronto and southern Ontario where the recession and the collapse of Olympia and York have devastated commercial real estate. The Toronto Dominion had profits of $90 million, up from $79 million a year earlier.

But the Toronto Dominion, the best performing of the Canadian banks until the recession, has been hit by a double whammy.

"The results so far this year continue to be hurt by high levels of non-performing loans, loan loss provisions, and losses on securities," says Toronto Dominion president Robin Korthals.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF




**COMING OUT OF A SLUMP:** *Canada's "Big Five" banks and smaller ones (shown is First City and Royal in Vancouver, British Columbia), have been enjoying greater profitability this year.*

While the other banks made money on their brokerage operations, the Toronto Dominion lost $18 million; that is on top of a loss of $59 million in the same area a year ago.

The two best-performing banks are the Bank of Nova Scotia, the fourth largest bank, and the Bank of Montreal, No. 3 in terms of assets.

The Bank of Montreal had few loans to Olympia and York, even though its head office is in First Canadian Place, the flagship building of Olympia and York in downtown Toronto. Profits doubled at its brokerage subsidiary, Nesbitt Thomson Inc.

The Bank of Nova Scotia has been the most profitable bank in Canada over the past two years and analysts expect it to hold that position for 1993 and 1994. It had almost no loans to Olympia and York and its brokerage subsidiary, Scotia McLeod, had record earnings in the quarter.

Some of the big banks have made major acquisitions this year. The Royal Bank of Canada will pay $1.64 billion for part of Royal Trust, taking over many of its branches and its mutual fund business and leaving behind shaky real estate loans. Integration cost of the two "Royals" is expected to be $300 million.

In January, the Toronto Dominion Bank acquired Central Guaranty Trust for $125 million. The bank says the acquisition is contributing positively to its earnings.

# Dick Tracy's Communication Device Still to Come

**By Laurent Belsie**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PITTSBURGH

WHEN Chuck Berman rides into the communications frontier, he packs the tools of a modern road warrior. There is his pager, of course. And a 2.2-pound computer tablet made by his company, Eo Inc., in Mountain View, Calif. Occasionally, he takes along a hand-held cellular telephone too.

The future was not supposed to be this way. Merging computer and telecommunications technology was supposed to produce a single mobile device, Dick Tracy-style. But it has not. No one is quite sure what tomorrow's mobile workers really want.

George Fisher, chairman of Motorola, is like many others in telecommunications and computers: He is optimistic something will turn up. "If you put the superhighway out there, you will have 100-mile-per-hour cars you never imagined."

The personal digital assistants (PDAs) or personal communicators now trickling onto the market are the best indication of the industry's position right now. On June 7, Hewlett-Packard introduced the 2.9-pound OmniBook 300. The company calls it a "superportable." Other analysts classify it as a personal communicator.

Apple Computer, the company which popularized the idea and coined the term PDA, was tantalizing consumers last year with the prospect of a hand-held computer-communicator called Newton. Today, it is rerouting and taking a lower profile, selling to business people instead of consumers. The first Newton will not even include a built-in modem. "They're having trouble making the transition" from computers to hand-held devices, says Michael French, a consultant with LINK Resources Corporation, New York.

Apple and other PDA vendors made the mistake of aiming for the consumer market instead of business customers, says John Pemberton, president of Pemberton & Associates, a consulting firm specializing in operations technology. But manufacturers could not keep the prices low enough for consumers. The OmniBook will retail for about $1,800; the Newton, an estimated $900. So the manufacturers have refocused on the business market.

THAT is good, Mr. Pemberton says, but "it's a mismatch" for the moment. The Newton, for example, is too underpowered and does not make wireless communications seamless enough for general business use. It will take up to 18 months to solve the problem, he says.

Where personal communicators are making inroads is in highly specialized niches, such as a police force that can enter parking tickets instantaneously or a highly paid professional staff that needs hand-held computing power. General business will come later, analysts add, and they will want different kinds of hand-held gadgets.

When LINK Resources earlier this year surveyed potential users of the devices, it found a definite split. Many users simply wanted a computer they could hold in one hand, which would do some specific functions, Mr. French says. Others wanted a communicating device.

The miniature computers – palmtops – hit the market several years ago. LINK estimates they will outpace personal communication devices' 1.9 million units by 100,000 units this year. But by 1998, communication devices will account for nearly two-thirds of the 10.5 million PDAs that will be sold, according to LINK.

"We're exactly where we were 12 years ago with office automation," Pemberton says. Users have to figure out how to use the new devices.

The industry's biggest obstacle may not be making the devices themselves, but hooking them up to communications services. There are no standards to build a device, and no agreement on what communications technology to use. Companies are rushing to dominate the market so they can become the de facto standard.

Ameritech announced June 3 it would form an alliance with Apple to give Newton users access to its voice messaging and fax services. Eo, which is now 51 percent owned by telecommunications giant AT&T, has also chosen the cellular track. But French says the carrier of choice will be something other than cellular.

"Common sense says you don't want to carry a whole lot of different things," says Ray Desjardins, vice president, RAM Mobile Data in New York.

Mr. Berman, product manager of Eo, expects to be carrying only one device before the turn of the century.

WASHINGTON WATCH

# High Court Sends Signals On Church, State Issue

THE United States Supreme Court continues to weave a zigzag course through the minefield of church-state relations.

In a unanimous decision, the high court on June 7 overturned a lower-court ruling that a New York school district was within its rights to bar religious groups – but not secular ones – from using its property after-hours. At the same time, the justices refused to hear an appeal of a case in which a federal court allowed student-led graduation prayers in Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

Both decisions were hailed by Christian Right groups as a major victory. "The Supreme Court has clearly stated that religious speech must not be censored from the marketplace of ideas," said Jay Sekulow, counsel for The American Center for Law and Justice, a group founded by the Rev. Pat Robertson that argued for the plaintiff in the New York case, Lamb's Chapel v. Center Moriches School District.

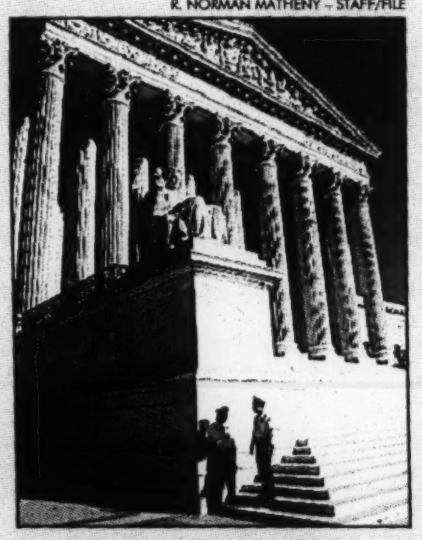
Michael McConnell, an expert on church-state relations at the University of Chicago, said although the court's ruling in Lamb's Chapel does not tread new legal ground, it has tremendous practical repercussions. "I don't think people realize how common it is for religious speakers to be suppressed in public schools," Dr. McConnell says. "This decision says public spaces will not be treated as religion-free zones."

But liberal groups took heart from the narrow wording of Justice Byron White's majority opinion in Lamb's Chapel. The court ruling does not open the way for religious displays during school hours, they note. "The court is reaffirming its long-standing rules on separation of church and state," says Steve Green, a lawyer for Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, which filed a brief supporting the court's decision in Lamb's Chapel.

Mr. Green also cautioned against reading too much into the court's refusal to hear a challenge to a Texas ruling that schools could allow prayers at graduation if the students voted for it. Last year, the court ruled in Lee v. Wiesman that a Rhode Island school should not have allowed a rabbi to deliver a nondenominational prayer at its graduation ceremony. The decision not to hear the Texas case "is not a signal to school boards that they must allow students to have graduation prayers.... It only means the court is not ready to revisit the issue," Green says.

Constitutional scholars say both June 7 rulings only postpone a looming showdown in the court over church-state relations. The reigning high-court standard on the issue was established by the 1971 Lemon v. Kurtzman ruling, which held that government programs (1) must have a secular purpose, (2) must not advance or inhibit the practice of religion, and (3) may not lead to excessive government entanglements in religion.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF/FILE



**SUPREME COURT:** *Christian Right groups hail new rulings, but liberals welcome narrow wording.*

In recent years, a Supreme Court majority has disagreed with this strict separation of church and state, sometimes backing a slightly more permissive view advanced by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor. Justice Anthony Kennedy and the more-conservative justices have pushed for opening the door even further to religious displays on public property.

In the Lamb's Chapel decision, the high-court majority invoked the Lemon test. That angered Justices Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, and Kennedy. In a biting concurrence, Justice Scalia argued that the court should have jettisoned this standard, comparing it to "some ghoul in a late-night horror movie."

The court appears likely to reexamine the Lemon test in an upcoming ruling. But court-watchers said that, after the Lamb's Chapel decision, it is unlikely the justices will throw out Lemon altogether. "The tone of Scalia's concurrence suggests they won't do anything radical about Lemon," McConnell says.

**– Max Boot**

NATIONAL

# Church Annual Meeting Hears Progress Reports

*Christian Science directors hail 'turnaround,' regret 'mistakes'*

**By James H. Andrews**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

FROM the opening hymn – "Come, Thou all-transforming Spirit" – to a concluding video on the publication history of the Christian Science textbook, the 1993 Annual Meeting of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, June 7 focused on the power of Christian Science to transform people's lives.

The theme was anchored in discussions of "Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures," by Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of the Christian Science Church. Of her seminal work – which, together with the Bible, serves as the "pastor" of the denomination – Mrs. Eddy wrote: "... the textbook of Christian Science is transforming the universe."

More than 4,000 church members filled the Mother Church Extension in Boston to hear reports from officers and from a representative of the worldwide community of Christian Science branch churches.

After several years during which controversy has swirled around Christian Science healing treatment for children and around certain church policies, church leaders at the meeting attempted to convey a sense of business-as-usual. The tone of the reports was set by church treasurer John Selover, who said: "Today we report on the completion of a turnaround year."

With a notable exception, the reports contained few allusions to the continuing criticisms by some members of the church's costly television enterprise, which was discontinued last year, and of the church's publication in 1991 of a book that opponents assert violates the Manual of The Mother Church, the church's bylaws.

The exception came in a report of the Board of Directors, the church's five-member governing authority, presented by director Richard Bergenheim. Referring specifically to the church's move "into the far-reaching medium of televised journalism," Mr. Bergenheim said, "We could never claim that no mistakes have been made.... And like anyone else, we regret them, we regret them deeply. We seek to learn from them...."

Referring more generally to documents circulated by some members criticizing recent church policies and leadership, however, Bergenheim said, "In most cases these reports are composed of half-truths and personal interpretations of events. Unfortunately these are misleading and often unjust."

Nonetheless, he said, "The Clerk of The Mother Church has taken the complaints seriously and investigated them. The board likewise has taken them seriously. We are convinced that proper oversight and supervision of church business are in place." Bergenheim also stated that the members of the board "have not ignored our duty" under the bylaws "to notify officers to perform their work faithfully."

As to the handling of the church's finances in connection with the media initiatives, he said, "There is absolutely no evidence of malfeasance, of fraud, or embezzlement. No one has been driven by motives of greed, selfish ambition, or secularism." Differences of opinion "on how to fulfill the church's functions and how to utilize its resources ... are not evidence of disloyalty and neither are they evidence of deceit by decisionmakers."

None of the speakers at the meeting addressed the subject of "The Destiny of the Mother Church," by Bliss Knapp, the controversial biography of Mrs. Eddy published by the church two years ago, despite a couple of shouts from the audience about the volume. In a meeting with reporters after the meeting, a church official said that the church's position on the book is well known and that he had nothing to add.

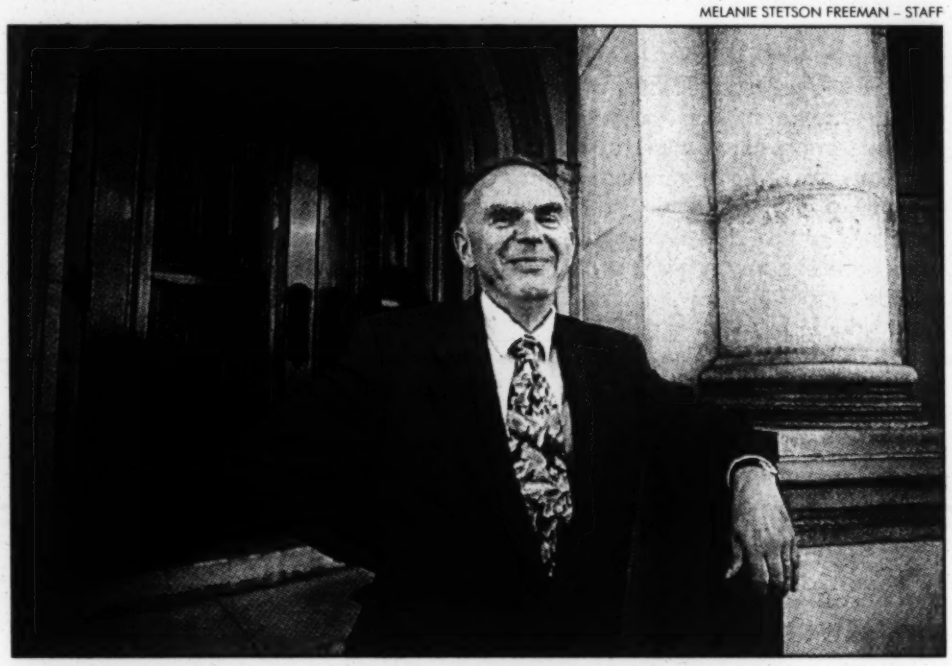
Mr. Selover, church treasurer and a director, stated that in the last fiscal year the church "met and even bettered" its goal to balance income and expense at $70 million. "Income was $76 million and operating expenses were $70 million," he said.

Al Carnesciali, a director and manager of the Christian Science Publishing Society, reported that "eight pages are soon to be added to the [Christian Science] Journal [the church's monthly religious publication] to accommodate the increased contribution of articles by our members." Mr. Carnesciali announced the appointment of Michael Seek as associate editor for the German edition of The Herald of Christian Science, a monthly magazine.

Carnesciali also issued "a call to action" – "That *every* student of Christian Science invite at least one individual to newly subscribe to each of our periodicals."

The meeting also heard reports from the church clerk, the manager of Committees on Publication, and the publisher of Mrs. Eddy's writings, who announced a new Spanish concordance to "Science and Health."

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF



**NEW CHURCH PRESIDENT:** *K. Dieter Förster of Bad Soden, Germany, was elected to the one-year president's post by The Christian Science Board of Directors.*

THE WORLD'S NATIVE PEOPLES

***Part 1 of this three-part weekly series on the world's native peoples describes who they are and what they want.***
***On Page 10: Map locates early inhabitants***
***On Page 12: UN addresses worldwide human rights***

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF

**CASH CROP:** *In the Ecuadoran highlands, Otavalan women in Chirihuasi learn to knit sweaters that are sold abroad. In the past, they tended cattle and embroidered only for their families. For many of the globe's indigenous people, economic survival is a key to preserving traditions and territory.*

# Indigenous People Press for Rights

**By Lucia Mouat**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THEY are descendants of the earliest inhabitants in the regions where they live.

For years, the globe's indigenous people – at least 300 million of them from the Arctic to Australia by conservative United Nations estimates – were pressed to submerge their lifestyles into the more dominant cultures around them. Colonization, development efforts, and civil conflicts forced many off their lands or into poverty. To many citizens, these are the largely invisible members of the "fourth world."

Yet a more aggressive stance taken recently by a number of indigenous groups has prompted a growing global recognition of their rights to keep their lands, their languages, and their cultural identities.

By designating 1993 as the International Year for the World's Indigenous People, the United Nations General Assembly hopes to underscore the need for new international standards and a stronger global effort to protect native groups and their more than 5,000 distinct cultures. Their human rights concerns are on the agenda of the mid-June UN World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. **(See story, Page 12.)**

Most of the world's indigenous people have something special to share – from their unique cultural heritage to well-honed skills in such areas as fishing and farming that do minimal environmental damage.

Yet they are often "looked down on as backward, evolutionary relics of past primitive ages," as Moringe Pakipuny of Tanzania puts it. He was one of several leaders of indigenous groups who spoke at a special General Assembly session in December to launch the new year. Speaking for the Orongoro Integrated People Oriented to Conservation in Tanzania, Mr. Pakipuny blamed both past colonial rulers and leaders of newer independent states in Africa for committing "cultural genocide" by absorbing indigenous lands and perpetuating old artificial borders.

Self-determination is the prime goal of indigenous people everywhere. "They want to determine for themselves their relationship with the state," says Julian Berger, a Geneva-based UN senior staff member assigned to work on this special year. Yet few seek full political independence.

Even so, many governments view the push for greater recognition of native rights as a direct threat to their power and to national unity.

The issue is so sensitive that the UN was forced to withdraw an indigenous peoples map that the UN Center for Human Rights had assembled and circulated. A number of Asian and African nations objected to specific figures, insisting either that they had no "indigenous" inhabitants at all or that everyone within their borders qualified.

Though a UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations plans to finalize the wording of a universal declaration of rights for indigenous people at its annual meeting in Geneva this July, the group may delay sending the document to the UN General Assembly. UN member governments have the right to rewrite the declaration. "The General Assembly could alter the wording and dilute the message to the point of meaninglessness," says Ted Macdonald, an anthropologist with Cultural Survival, a nonprofit human rights and development group based in Cambridge, Mass. "They [the working group] may wait for a more opportune political moment," he says.

Yet the Rev. Paul Reeves, a Maori from New Zealand who will chair a working group on the problems of indigenous people at a nongovernmental human rights conference to be held June 10-12 in Vienna, says governments need not feel as threatened as many of them do. Fair delivery of services, from justice to education, is at the heart of what many indigenous groups really want to discuss, says Bishop Reeves, who is the Anglican Communion's observer at the UN and a former governor-general of New Zealand.

Many groups in his view are now trying to understand their own nationhood within the context of the nations that have grown up around them. "I think what we offer at our very best is the possibility of a greater richness and a wider understanding of what [national] unity means," Reeves says.

Ties with the land are strong for all indigenous people.

"Land is not just real estate," Reeves says. "Land is part of the essence of who indigenous people are. It needs to be understood within the context of their spirituality and their holistic sense of creation and humanity.... A landless indigenous person is a person at real risk."

In response to growing legal and moral pressure, some governments have made key compromises in recent years with their indigenous populations.

The most recent example is the proposed creation in 1999 of Nunavut ("our land" in the Inuit, or Eskimo, language) in Canada's Northwest Territories. The agreement, covering an area almost one-fifth the size of Canada, was signed May 25 by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Inuit leaders in the small town of Iqaluit, some 1,000 miles south of the North

*See* **INDIGENOUS** *page 12*

## WHO ARE THEY?

■ Indigenous people are broadly defined as those whose ancestors were the original inhabitants of the land where they live, which was later colonized, settled, or invaded by others. They include distinct cultural groups with different languages. Estimates of how many there are worldwide range from 300 million to more than twice that number. (See map, Page 10.)

THE WORLD'S NATIVE PEOPLES

# Early Inhabitants
## *Who They Are*

Aleut
Chipewyan
Inuit
Cree
Dene
Naskapi
Ojibwa
ARCTIC AND SUB-ARCTIC

Apache
Bella Coola
Cahuilla
Chinook
Dine (Hopi)
Haida
Kwakiutl
Navajo
Nez Percé
Pomo
Salish
Serrano
Shoshone
Tlinget
Ute
Wasco
Yakima
Zuni
WESTERN NORTH AMERICA

Arapaho
Cheyenne
Pawnee
Sioux
GREAT PLAINS

Algonquin
Cherokee
Chickasaw
Creek
Haudenosaunee (Six Nations)
Huron
Micmac
Powatomi
Shawnee
Seminole
EASTERN NORTH AMERICA

BRAD KNICKERBOCKER

*Inuit child, Alaska*

**ARCTIC**

Arctic peoples, except in Russia, have more rights in their homelands than do groups in most other regions. In North America, Greenland, and Siberia, the Inuit (Eskimo) are traditionally fishers, whalers, and game hunters. In Scandinavia, the Saami (Lapp) traditionally herd reindeer.

**2 million people**
**50 languages**

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF

*Native American, US*

**AMERICAS**

North and South America have the largest number of named native groups. In Latin America, many live on small farm plots close to the locations of pre-Columbian civilizations: Mexico (Aztec); Central America (Mayan); and Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru (Incan). In the United States and Canada, about 2 million native Americans are scattered in cities, with some concentrations remaining on reservations.

**42 million people**
**900 languages**

Akawaio
Bari (Motilones)
Bribri
Cakchiquel
Chol
Choque
Chuj
Cora
Guajiro
Guaymi
Huichol
Ixil
Karina
Kekchi
Kogi
Kuna
Lacandon
Lenca
Maya (descendants)
Miskito
Nahua
Otomac
Paez
Pipile
Quiche
Rama
Seri
Sumu
Tarahumara
Yaqui
Yarawato
Yucatec
Yukpa
Zapotec
CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

Aymara
Cayapas
Colorados
Huancas
Kolla
Mojo
Otavalo
Quechua
Salasaca
Uros
ANDES

Achuar
Aguaruna
Amarakaeri
Amuesha
Arara
Arawak
Ashaninca
Asurini
Cofan
Gaviao
Huaroni
Kayapo
Kreen-Akarore
Matsigenka
Mundurucu
Nambikwara
Parakana
Quichua
Sanema
Secoya
Shipibo
Shuar (Jivaro)
Siona
Tukano
Ufaina
Waimiri-Atroari
Wayana
Xavante
Yagua
Yanomami
AMAZONIA

Ache
Ayoreo
Chamacoco
Chiriguano
Guana
Mataco
Mbaya
Toba-Maskoy
GRAN CHACO

Borboro
Botocudo
Ge (Central)
Guato
Kaduveo
Kaingang
Karaja
Kayapo (Southern)
Tupi
MATO GROSSO

Aracuanian
Mapuche
Ranquel
Tehuelche
PATAGONIA-PAMPAS

Fulani
Tuareg
SAHARA, SAHEL

BETTY PRESS

*Masai, Kenya*

**AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST**

The vast continent of Africa and the adjacent Middle East offer great cultural diversity as well as the largest number of indigenous people in one area. In east Africa, Sahel, and the Arabian peninsula, 25 million to 30 million nomadic inhabitants herd cattle. The San (Bushmen) in Namibia and Botswana and the Pygmies in the rain forest of central Africa, both traditionally hunter-gatherers, have lived in their present homelands for at least 20,000 years.

**25-350 million people**
**2,000 languages**

Sources: United Nations; Worldwatch Institute; population and language estimates are from Worldwatch Paper 112, by Alan Thein Durning, December 1992.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

*Woman of Turkmenistan*

**SOUTH ASIA**

In India, tribal groups such as the Gond and Bhils live in the central forest belt. In Bangladesh, groups such as the Chakma, Murma, and Tripura are concentrated in the Chittagong Hills near the border with Burma (Myanmar). In Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal, Iran, and the former USSR Central Asian republics, several million tribal people are farmers and herders.

**74-91 million people**
**700 languages**

Bhils
Chakma
Chenchus
Dafflas
Dandami
Gadabas
Garos
Gond
Hos
Irula Kurumbas
Juangs
Kadras
Kameng
Khassis
Khonds
Kolis
Lohit
Marma
Mundas
Naga
Oraons
Pathan
Santal
Savaras
Sholegas
Toda Kotas
Tripura
Vedda

SOUTH ASIA

Saami

SAHEL

Dinka
Hamar
Kawahla
Lotuko
Mondari
Nuba
Nuer
Rashaida

SOUTH SUDAN

Efe
Lese
Mbuti

ITURI FOREST

Barabaig
Eritrean
Masai
Oromo
Somali
Tigrean

THE HORN AND EAST AFRICA

San

KALAHARI DESERT

NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF

*Hmong tribeswoman*

**SOUTHEAST ASIA**

In Southeast Asia, the native population is found mostly in forest lands. Groups such as the Hmong and Karen are forest farmers. Laos has the greatest number of forest and tribal people. Fewer live in Burma (Myanmar) and Vietnam. Thailand and mainland Malaysia have the fewest. In the Philippines and Indonesia, tribal people are concentrated at the ends of the archipelagos. The island of New Guinea is inhabited primarily by indigenous groups.

**32-55 million people**
**1,950 languages**

Chin
Hmong
Kachin
Karen
Kedang
Lisu
Semai
Shan

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Aborigines
Arapesh
Asmat
Bangsa
Bontoc
Chamorro
Dani
Dayak
Hanunoo
Hawaiian
Iban
Ifugao
Kalinga
Kanak
Kayan
Kedang
Mae-Enga
Maori
Mundugumer
Penan
Rapa Nui
Tahitian
Torres Strait Islanders
Tsembaga

AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

DAVE HERRING – STAFF

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

*Tibetan, China*

**EAST ASIA**

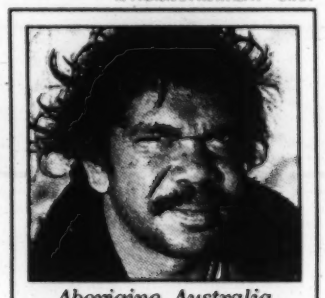
In China, many groups such as the Bulang of south China are mostly subsistence farmers. In Mongolia, ethnic Mongolians were originally shepherds, and herders are still a majority of the population, with local control over grazing land. Many Ainu in Japan and aboriginal Taiwanese are now factory workers.

**12-84 million people**
**150 languages**

Ainu
Hui
Manchu
Miao
Mongolian
Taiwan Aborigines
Tibetan
Uighur
Yi
Zhuang

EAST ASIA

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



*Aborigine, Australia*

**OCEANIA**

In Australia and New Zealand, many Aborigines and Maoris, traditionally farmers, fishers, hunters, and gatherers, now raise livestock. The Aborigines have been able to increase the land they control to 12 percent of Australia in recent years. In the South Pacific, islanders still rely on ocean resources for survival.

**3 million people**
**500 languages**

THE WORLD'S NATIVE PEOPLES

**Next week Part 2: Indians in Ecuador make a stand against oil interests to protect their rights and their land.**

**INDIGENOUS** from page 9

Pole, where snow is still on the ground.

The result of almost 20 years of negotiations, the settlement gives the Inuit title to much of the land and full hunting and fishing rights. In exchange for these, and a government payment over 14 years that will amount to more than $1 billion (US) for job training and other preparatory work, the Inuit gave up all other land claims. The new territory still must win formal endorsement in Canada's Parliament.

"The agreement finally gives the Inuit some hope for the future – a way to control their own destiny," says Lazarus Arreak, a policy planner with Nunavut Tungavit, the co-signing organization, in a telephone conversation from Iqaluit.

The Nordic countries are considered particularly progressive in their response to indigenous demands for self-rule. Sweden, Finland, and Norway all have approved parliaments for their Saami (Lapp) residents of the north. The Inuits in Greenland have had home-rule rights from the Danish government since 1979. Copenhagen has gradually ceded responsibility to Inuit leaders in Greenland, although the central government keeps a firm hand on defense, foreign policy, and finance. (Greenland politicians often talk up the merits of gaining more control, but heavy dependence on Denmark's financial help makes a move to genuine independence unlikely.)

The UN working group on indigenous populations is currently compiling a list of native peoples' treaties and agreements with an eye to determining their current validity under international law. "There's still a lot of work to be done," says Antonio Gonzalez of the California-based International Indian Treaty Council, one of several nongovernmental organizations helping with the job. They hope to finish by 1995.

Many indigenous groups have taken legal steps to assert long-standing land claims. In a landmark decision a year ago that surprised the government of Australia, the nation's highest court overturned the doctrine of *terra nullius* (no landowner), which had been embraced by the government since the late 18th century. The court ruled that the traditional land rights of the Murray Islanders of the Torres Straits had not been extinguished when the Europeans arrived.

Several South American countries, including Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, and Venezuela, have also made moves in recent years to return land to indigenous owners. But Mr. Macdonald of Cultural Survival says most of the transfers are incomplete.

Those in Brazil and Venezuela, for instance, were presidential promises that Macdonald says may yet be overturned. Specific parcels of land in Colombia, where almost one-fourth of the population is indigenous, were transferred, he says, but their remote location leaves open the question of whether the government is willing to help residents maintain the integrity of the land if other settlers arrive.

"In Latin America most threats to territorial integrity come about through spontaneous colonization," Macdonald says.

"The majority of indigneous people in Latin America remain in a very difficult economic, social, and political situation," says Mr. Berger of the UN.

One legal tool native groups hope to master is that of intellectual property rights. Legends and songs as well as agricultural strategies and use of native plants for medicinal purposes often are appropriated without credit. Some indigenous people want patent rights or royalties.

UNITED NATIONS PHOTO

**ABORIGINAL ROCK:** *Yothu Yindi band from Australia performs at the UN on Human Rights Day to launch the 1993 International Year for the World's Indigenous People.*

# United Nations Addresses Worldwide Human Rights

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE rights of native peoples are just one item on the agenda for the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights, which begins June 14 in Vienna. But human rights activists are concerned that the meeting may chalk up more losses than gains.

"I expect one clear step forward but the conference has the potential for taking several giant steps backward," says Kenneth Roth, acting executive director of Human Rights Watch in New York.

"Some governments are trying to roll back their responsibilities for [protecting] civil and political rights," says Shiela Dauer, director of country actions for London-based Amnesty International. "The rights already in place need to be strengthened and protected."

But nongovernmental groups such as theirs will be present, watching and keeping the heat on in Vienna as delegates of the UN's 183 member governments debate progress and remaining roadblocks. The UN's only other conference on human rights was held in 1968 in Tehran.

The major concern of human rights activists at the 1993 conference is that a number of developing nations in Asia, which are among the worst violators of human rights, may undermine past gains with a new argument. In place of the old claim that treatment of citizens is an internal affair, some nations now insist that cultural differences must be taken into account when monitoring human rights. They say the West is trying to impose its values on them and that the need for economic progress inside their borders may justify delay in granting citizens full civil and political rights.

"Cultural differences ... are not an excuse to violate fundamental rights," insists Mr. Roth. "This is in fact a very fundamental attack on ... the universality of human rights."

"To a very great extent it's political rhetoric," agrees Elissavet Stamatopoulou, chief of the New York office of the UN Centre for Human Rights.

The strong step forward that Mr. Roth and others expect to emerge from the Vienna meeting concerns a shift within the UN system, whereby violations of women's rights for the first time will be treated as a human rights issue rather than as a low-profile social issue. The change is the result of a three-year lobbying effort by nongovernmental women's groups. The abuse of women will be treated with new urgency.

The world community of indigenous people is currently the focus of a special UN year. Sheila Dauer, who has been running Amnesty International's campaign to stop human rights violations against these vulnerable groups, says that some of their most fundamental problems, like the problems of women, have not been clearly recognized as human rights violations.

IN frustration over government failure to settle claims to ancestral lands, for instance, some indigenous people such as the Chakma tribe of Bangladesh in the Chittagong Hills district long ago turned to armed opposition to protect their land. In reprisal, many have been murdered, tortured, and raped. "Unresolved land conflicts are generating really grave abuses of the rights of indigenous peoples," Ms. Dauer says. "There has to be some recognition that unresolved land claims need to be addressed."

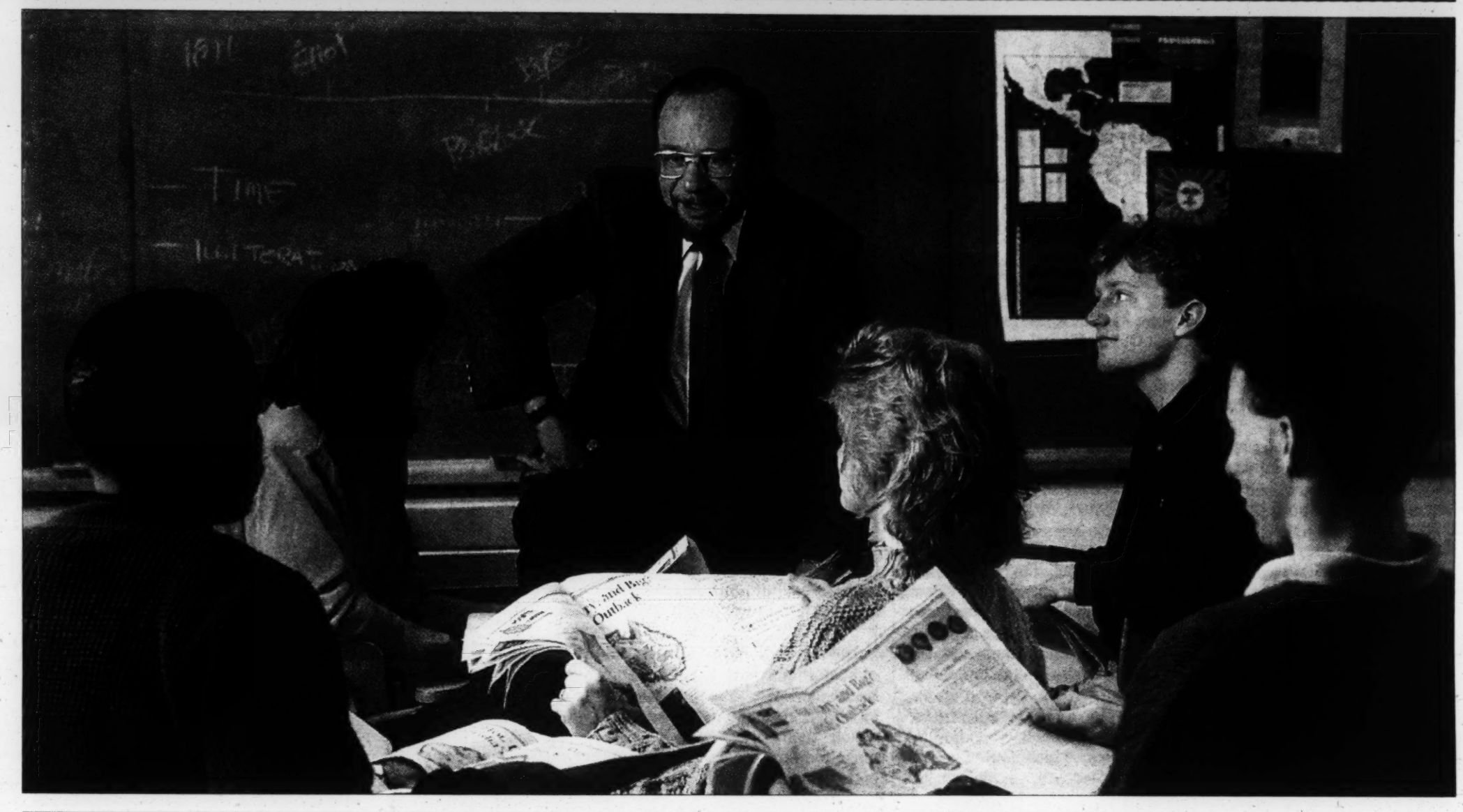
"It's been the arbitrary violence and the lack of due process that have really hurt the efforts of indigenous people to maintain traditional lifestyles and retain access to their ... lands," Roth agrees.

Other issues sure to be haggled over in Vienna include the relationship of democracy and development to human rights and ways to make better use of data on rights abuse. "We have tremendous information," Ms. Stamatopoulou says.

What is needed, and what she expects the conference to produce, is a plan of action. "We will have one," she says. For instance, her office, if asked by the UN secretary-general, could collate abuse data that would help to shore up his proposed early-warning system on potential trouble spots. "You really can get the pulse on upcoming crises by looking at the human rights situation in countries," Stamatopoulou says.

Still, the conference, like most sponsored by the UN, will adopt positions only by consensus. Stamatopoulou concedes that many smaller nations without influential friends are reluctant to give the UN stronger enforcement tools. Many of them agree that peace and human rights are closely linked, she says. But the increasing number of internal conflicts in the world makes many such countries apprehensive that stronger countries could intervene. "The challenge we have now is how to establish some kind of criteria that will allay these fears," she says.

**– Lucia Mouat**



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SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

# Slash-Pine Clone Created in a Lab

*Genetic scientists in Texas are developing a pine tree to benefit the state's timber industry*

**By Scott Pendleton**
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

IN one hand, plant physiologist Ron Newton holds a culture dish of pine-tree cells that have been altered by the insertion of foreign genetic material. His other hand grips a test tube containing a pine "seedling" cloned from an unaltered cell.

Soon he hopes to bring the two processes together by first altering a cell and then cloning it into a slash pine, a commercially valuable tree species in the Southeast. A pine more resistant to fusiform rust disease and more tolerant of drought is the goal of Dr. Newton and his fellow researchers at the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station at Texas A&M University.

Timber is one of the top three cash crops in Texas, where the industry employs 20,000 people. The largest timber companies plant 133 million seedlings annually in the state, but summer drought may kill up to half of them in their first year. If they had lived to harvest, the trees would be worth $50 million.

The procedure Newton's team is attempting has been performed by other scientists on spruces, poplars, and walnut trees. But no one has succeeded with pine.

Old-fashioned cross-breeding, the technique pioneered on his garden peas by Austrian Gregor Johann Mendel, the 19th-century father of heredity research, might eventually get the same results. But that technique requires 20 years to develop a second generation of pines. Also, crossing pines may get not only the desired "good" genes but other "bad" genes as well. For precise gene selection and speed of developing a new species, researchers turn to the laboratory to splice genes into a cell's chromosomes and then clone the cells into a complete organism.

Chromosomes are composed of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) molecules, which look like long twisted ladders, explains John Cairney, a molecular biologist on the project. Each rung of the ladder is a pair of nucleotides, the basic building blocks of genes. Hundreds of adjacent pairs make up an individual gene.

If each pair is like a letter of the alphabet, Dr. Cairney says, then chromosomes are long strings of text in which only 5 percent may be words or sentences. The rest, Cairney says, is meaningless "packing material."

One way to insert new genetic information into a cell's chromosomes is to transmit it via soil-borne *Agrobacterium*. This kind of bacterium can invade a cell and insert its own genetic material into the chromosome of the cell, which then causes the cell to make food for the bacterium. Scientists can alter the bacterium so that it doesn't harm the cell and will inject genes of their choosing into the cell's chromosomes.

Newton works with a second method: biolistics. This involves loading genetic material into a compressed gas "gun" and blasting it like buckshot onto a culture dish full of target cells.

The genetic ammunition contains several components. One gene causes the cell to turn blue in the presence of the chemical X-gluconate. Newton tests to see if the bombarded cells received the new genetic material by exposing them to X-gluconate.

Another gene makes the cell tolerate the presence of the antibiotic kanamycin. Other genes of choice can be included, such as ones that enhance resistance to drought and disease.

A YEAR ago, Newton was fortunate if 10 or 20 cells turned blue. But last month he achieved a breakthrough that increased his success at altering cells a hundredfold.

Newton had been using the "promoter" region of a gene taken from the cauliflower mosaic virus. The promoter is necessary for a gene to perform its function. Newton made a switch, pairing the "blue" gene with a promoter taken from a carrot. Now 2,000 cells per blast will turn blue.

Unfortunately, that test kills the cells. Thus, none that were altered successfully can be cloned. Newton is working to get around that problem by developing other screening methods.

Right now he is subjecting target cells to kanamycin. Cells that incorporated the transgenic materials should survive, while the others die. Newton can double-check the effectiveness of this screen by exposing some of the surviving cells to X-gluconate. If they turn blue in overwhelming numbers, then he can make clones from other batches, confident that they are indeed transgenic cells.

But that raises the question of finding the desirable genetic material in the first place. Hans van Buijtenen, a geneticist on the project, has "mapped" an ordinary slash pine's chromosomes. But it's a map without the names of places or roads.

"We really don't know anything about the architecture of the pine chromosome," Dr. van Buijtenen says. He hopes to identify the approximate location of drought-resistant and fusiform-resistant genes by comparing his map with maps from pines with those traits. Cairney could then transfer those genes to another plant for evaluation.

He's already doing that with genes from the loblolly pine that seem to be "switched on" by drought. He has inserted them into cotton and tobacco to test their usefulness. And Newton is working with them to make sure he can insert them into slash pine, illustrating the multiple-track approach the team is taking to reach its goal of improving the slash pine.

"This kind of thing takes a team effort" these days, Newton says, noting the variety of disciplines brought to bear on the project.

Once the location of the resistance genes is known, van Buijtenen will be able to tell if a seed has the desired properties. For now, he must plant it and wait five to seven years to conduct tests.

Even when an individual tree is resistant, pollination by a non-resistant tree might cause the offspring to lose that trait. That's why Newton hopes eventually to eliminate the need for seeds and clone new trees directly from the pine needles of individuals known to be resistant.

"I could then produce thousands and thousands of resistant trees," he says. But at this point, cloning will not work on cells from a mature tree.

Cairney adds that, in time, natural selection would achieve the results that the experiment station team hopes for with the slash pine. "We can wait for a million years, or we can make that change now," he says.

SCOTT PENDLETON

**TEST-TUBE TREE:** *Plant specialists John Cairney (l.) and Ron Newton (r.) examine an experimental pine specimen.*

## Genetic Engineering Raises Concerns

AUSTIN, TEXAS

GLEN DALE WOODALL served five years in a West Virginia prison for two rapes he did not commit. Last year he won release and a million-dollar settlement after sophisticated DNA tests proved he could not have been involved.

Mr. Woodall's case is a dramatic example of how modern science is making use of DNA – deoxyribonucleic acid – which makes up chromosomes, the complete genetic blueprint found in every cell of living beings.

But scientists want to do more than merely look at chromosomes. They want to improve them. Cross-breeding is the century-old technique for this, but that's like buying a grocery cart full of items when you only need a couple. So biologists are finding ways to identify individual genetic information and insert it into a cell, where it begins to function as if there originally.

The technique of recombinant DNA engineering has even caused the barriers between dissimilar species to be broken down. Scores of companies are field-testing biotech products with novel genetic combinations: cantaloupe and yellow squash containing bacteria and virus genes, corn with firefly genes, and rice with pea genes.

Some people worry that such tampering could have unpredictable detriments. For instance, if genetically engineered traits such as herbicide resistance find their way into weeds, the altered life forms could disrupt natural ecosystems.

MORE than 3,000 food-industry professionals have joined the Pure Food Campaign, an international boycott of genetically altered food products. One company joining the boycott is Sun Harvest Farms, a small grocery chain in central and south Texas.

Sun Harvest noted that the United States Food and Drug Administration will allow such foods to be marketed this year, but does not require them to be labeled or pretested for safety.

Regardless of these concerns, bioengineered products "are going to be part of our everyday food," predicts plant physiologist Ron Newton at Texas A&M in College Station, Texas.

– S. P.

INTERVIEW

# Canada's 'Red Tory' Is A Parliament Hill Fixture

By Mark Clayton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

OTTAWA

HEATH MACQUARRIE is a rare bird in Canadian politics: a left-leaning, liberal-minded member of Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative Party.

He likes to say that if he had been a member of the British Parliament under conservative Margaret Thatcher, the Iron Lady most certainly would have referred to him as a "wet" (as in "wet hen"), a back-of-the-hand she reserved for liberal-leaning members of her Conservative party.

Instead, the 73-year-old senator and former member of Parliament from Prince Edward Island is known here on Parliament Hill as a "red" or liberal-minded Tory, one of the few remaining Conservatives of that ilk.

"I suppose they [Reagan-Mulroney-Thatcher-style conservatives] realize this species is so rare now that they're not terribly dangerous," says the cherubic-faced islander with a strong Scottish accent.

"Sometimes I think I'm the last of the red Tories, which is about as exciting as being the last of the Mohicans," he says.

But when Senator Macquarrie arrived in Ottawa in 1957, a newly minted Member of Parliament from Canada's smallest province, red Tories made up an entire wing of the Conservative Party. Louis St. Laurent was Canada's prime minister and Dwight Eisenhower was president of the United States.

Placing Macquarrie in time can seem irrelevant, however. Because while prime ministers and presidents come and go, Macquarrie has become a Parliament Hill fixture, appointed in 1979 to the Senate.

Entrenched as a savvy observer of Conservative politics, Macquarrie attended his first political meeting at age 11. Last year he published his political memoirs, entitled "Red Tory Blues," setting forth a red Tory's lament at the shift to the right his party has taken over the last decade under Mulroney.

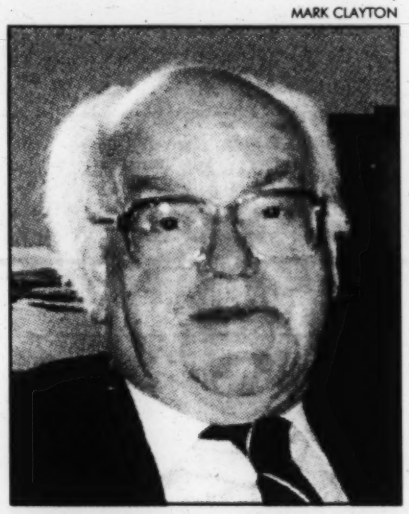
Despite his ideological isolation, Macquarrie seems just as excited as any Conservative about the party leadership race as it moves toward its climax. The leadership convention running today through June 13 will be historic, because it will for the first time choose a new Conservative Party leader to take the reins of power from a sitting Conservative Prime Minister.

"My personal morale has gone up tremendously since the [Mulroney] withdrawal," Macquarrie says.

"We've had a long time of the rightist mandate. The country has shown that it hurts them. We have grave unemployment in this country, an increasing scorn of the political process and the political institutions that is very very dangerous."

From Macquarrie's left-of-center viewpoint, the free-trade push and its attendant dropping of tariff barriers designed to protect Canadian business is a mistake, as has been much of the privatization of Crown corporations. He favors full financing of Canada's omnibus health and welfare system, in contrast to Mulroney conservatives, who have trimmed deficits in part by cutting welfare and health-care benefits.

MARK CLAYTON



**'I find the government under the present [Canadian] prime minister much more eager to be embraced in the big brawny arms of Uncle Sam.'**

***– Sen. Heath Macquarrie***

William Neville, a political scientist at the University of Manitoba, aptly describes a red Tory as one who "while upholding many traditional values and cherishing traditional institutions, was possessed of a social conscience and saw in the power of the state the means of ameliorating the worst excesses of the market.

"The red Tories have tended to believe in strong central government and to resist the provincializing tendencies of the latter days, and they are usually thought of as Canadian nationalists."

"I find the government under the present prime minister much more eager to be embraced in the big brawny arms of Uncle Sam," Macquarrie says.

"I don't think that in exporting Reaganism to the north that much has been done for our people," he adds.

What does he think of Kim Campbell, the favorite for nomination as party leader and then for prime minister?

"She's going to be interesting," he says. "There's something about her.

"Many are comparing her to [former Liberal Prime Minister Pierre] Trudeau, who was quite a phenomenon ... [and] caught on with the public."

Referring to both Ms. Campbell and her nearest rival for the nomination, Minister of Environment Jean Charest, Macquarrie is succinct.

"None of them is a red Tory or close to being one," he says. "The race has tightened a great deal. Mr. Charest is very attractive and articulate and has run a good campaign."

Though Campbell seems quite capable of winning enough votes from the field of 3,800 conservative delegates to win on a first ballot, that could change, Macquarrie says.

"The delegates are all selected now, and they are strongly in her favor," he says. "She almost has enough to win it on the first ballot. But it would be a very incautious person who would predict that she *would* win it on the first ballot."

Macquarrie says frontrunner Campbell is excellent one on one with delegates.

But since public opinion polls are shifting away from her, delegates may be swayed toward Charest.

"We have to watch out for the Flora MacDonald syndrome," says the long-time observer says of the first woman to run for the Conservative Party leadership in 1976. Ms. MacDonald had a substantial number of "committed" delegates, but the number of votes actually cast for her fell significantly short, handing the victory to former prime minister Joe Clark.

"I don't expect a one-ballot convention," he says. "A lot of things can happen on the way to the second ballot."

# Rushdie Tries Bolder Free-Speech Efforts

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

SALMAN RUSHDIE says he has reached a turning point in his battle against the *fatwa* (death sentence) imposed on him 4-1/2 years ago by the late Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran.

The Indian-born author of the novel "The Satanic Verses," which militant Muslims say is a severe blasphemy against the prophet Muhammad, described a meeting he was granted last month with John Major, the British prime minister, as "a clear and welcome sign that governments have at last begun to take my plight seriously."

It was Mr. Rushdie's first encounter with a head of government since February 1989, when Iran's supreme religious leader put a multimillion dollar price on his head and called for his assassination. A close friend said the meeting at the House of Commons was part of "an accelerating campaign" on Rushdie's part to assert the inherent right of free expression by writers and simultaneously to obtain release from "the hell to which the *fatwa* has condemned him."

At a news conference after the meeting with Prime Minister Major, Rushdie said they had discussed "a series of international measures" aimed at persuading Iran to lift the *fatwa*. He declined to say what the measures were, but political sources spoke afterwards of stepped-up efforts by British diplomats in Islamic and other capitals to bring pressure to bear on Tehran.

Major's readiness to see him, the novelist said, was "a further sign that those who care about freedom recognize the wrong that has been done – and still is being done." But Rushdie, his Scotland Yard bodyguards hovering nearby, conceded that relations between London and Tehran would "probably become frostier" in the near future as a result of his 30-minute conversation with the British premier.

RUSHDIE has had to wait a long time for the open political support he says he must have if Iran is ever to drop the *fatwa* and allow him to return to a reasonably normal life. And last year he began traveling secretly to European capitals, seeking the support of governments. So far he has visited 10 countries.

Wherever he goes, he seeks out politicians and officials willing to listen to his case. One of his most striking successes was in Germany. After hearing his account of the life he has been forced to lead, the Bundestag – the federal parliament – passed a resolution saying Iran should be held legally responsible for any attempt to kill Rushdie.

Friends describe the novelist's life since the *fatwa* was declared as a deeply frustrating hole-in-corner existence. Frances d'Souza, who helped to organize the meeting with Major, says Rushdie has had no option but to move his residence several times. His public appearances have to be organized in deepest secret. He is guarded around the clock by Scotland Yard "special branch" detectives.

In the last few months, the author has been increasingly bold in the things he says about the people who threaten to punish him for writing and publishing a book they still insist merits the death penalty. In a February address at King's College Chapel, Cambridge University, Rushdie said: "Just as this chapel may be taken as a symbol of what is best about religion, so the *fatwa* has become a symbol of what is worst."

Iranian religious leaders continue to say that "The Satanic Verses" is blasphemous. Three months ago, Ayatollah Ali Khamanei, Khomeini's successor as Iran's top religious leader, said the death edict against Rushdie "must be carried out, whatever the consequences." A week before the Rushdie-Major meeting, the Tehran government told members of a high-level British trade mission that they would not be welcome in Iran if the prime minister carried out his plan to meet the writer. The trade mission visit had to be cancelled.

Rushdie describes Major's decision to see him as "an act of very considerable political courage."

"This will send a message around the world," he says. "It is very important that the British government is seen to be leading from the front."

The Home Forum.

# When the Arts Speak in Harmony

*O Attic shape! Fair attitude! with brede*
*Of marble men and maidens overwrought,*
*With forest branches and the trodden weed;*
*Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought*
*As doth eternity: Cold Pastoral!*
*When old age shall this generation waste,*
*Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe*
*Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,*
*"Beauty is truth, truth beauty," – that is all*
*Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know....*

**– From "Ode on a Grecian Urn," by John Keats**

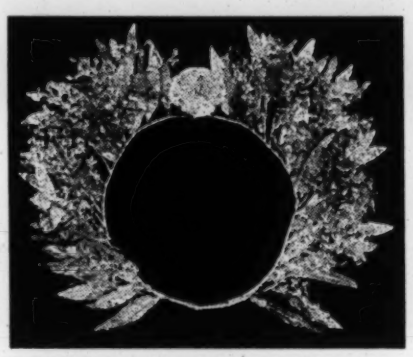
OUT of the distant past survived a work of such surpassing beauty that the English poet John Keats read in its pleasant form a whisper of the eternal. The Grecian urn represented something more than a merely decorative vessel. Its beauty had not faded with age. Its essential form and the painted scene it held captured more than the stylized details of Greek belief and culture.

A lesser work might have remained an interesting artifact of a departed people, but a great work of art showed Yeats something forever authentic about the very nature of life on earth. However transient and shadowy human understanding might be, an inkling of truth was still within reach. Keats realized, as he beheld the enduring grace of the urn, truth as beauty – the eternal captured as eternally beautiful, a voice speaking to us through the ages.

More than 150 years have passed since Keats wrote "Ode on a Grecian Urn," and his poem still moves us, his insight is still sound. The poem, like the urn it venerates, remains both beautiful and true. It will last because it speaks to issues of lasting significance.

Keats seized the meaning of a work of art, a voiceless visual prize, and put it down in poetry – the music of language. One work of art often inspires feeling so great it can be expressed only in another work of art.

Many painters listen to music when they paint, for example. The theater brings many arts together, as does opera. And works of art can "hold a dialogue," as it were, when they are intelligently juxtaposed. Poetry and painting or sculpture wisely placed side-by-side in a book can produce something altogether new – a different grasp of "beauty and truth" than either the poem or the visual art evokes alone.



**GOLD MYRTLE LEAF (330 BC):** *From Derveni, Macedonia. From the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Greece, photograph courtesy of the Greek National Tourist Organization and Abrams, New York.*

"Greece in Poetry," edited by Simoni Zafiropoulos, gathers great verse from ancient and modern Greek sources and lays them out beside ancient and modern works of visual art. The poetry selections are diverse enough to give the viewer a feeling for the culture's complexity. And still, there is a kind of persistence of vision from the ancient to the modern that unifies the book and confers a sense of cultural continuity.

Sometimes contemporary art is used to "illustrate" an ancient poem. "Alkinoos' Garden" from Homer's "The Odyssey," Book VII (circa 9th century BC), sits next to a marvelous reproduction of a 1959 oil painting by Nikos Hatzikyriakos-Ghikas called "Wild Garden."

The poem describes an orchard where apples, figs, and pears grow side by side. All year long the fruit ripens, one kind after another, so that Alkinoos is always provided with fresh fruit. The fountains of his garden bring fresh, clear water into his house through a system of channels. Rows of vegetables that flourish in every season lie next to the vineyards. Currants dry in the sun. Homer's paradisiacal description of the garden evokes a vision of plenty, purpose, beauty, and benevolence. "These were the gifts of heaven to Alkinoos."

In Hatzikyriakos-Ghikas's painting, the garden is a riot of plant life abstractly arranged in tense geometrical shapes, implicating the human planning of a garden. But the vibrant growth also implicates the power and strength of nature. It is a beautiful piece, but it does not suggest the earthly paradise Homer envisioned. From the ancient to the modern, painting and poem together create a vision of nature that is paradoxical, yet truer to nature's own complexities than either poem or painting alone.

**GREECE IN POETRY**
*Edited by Simoni Zafiropoulos*
*Abrams, 176 pp., $39.95*

Interesting juxtapositions – for example, an excerpt from "The Bacchae" by Euripides (circa 480-406 BC) with "The Miraculous Finding of the Servant," a 17th-century miniature from the border of an icon – suggests the vast difference between ancient Greek values and later Christian ones.

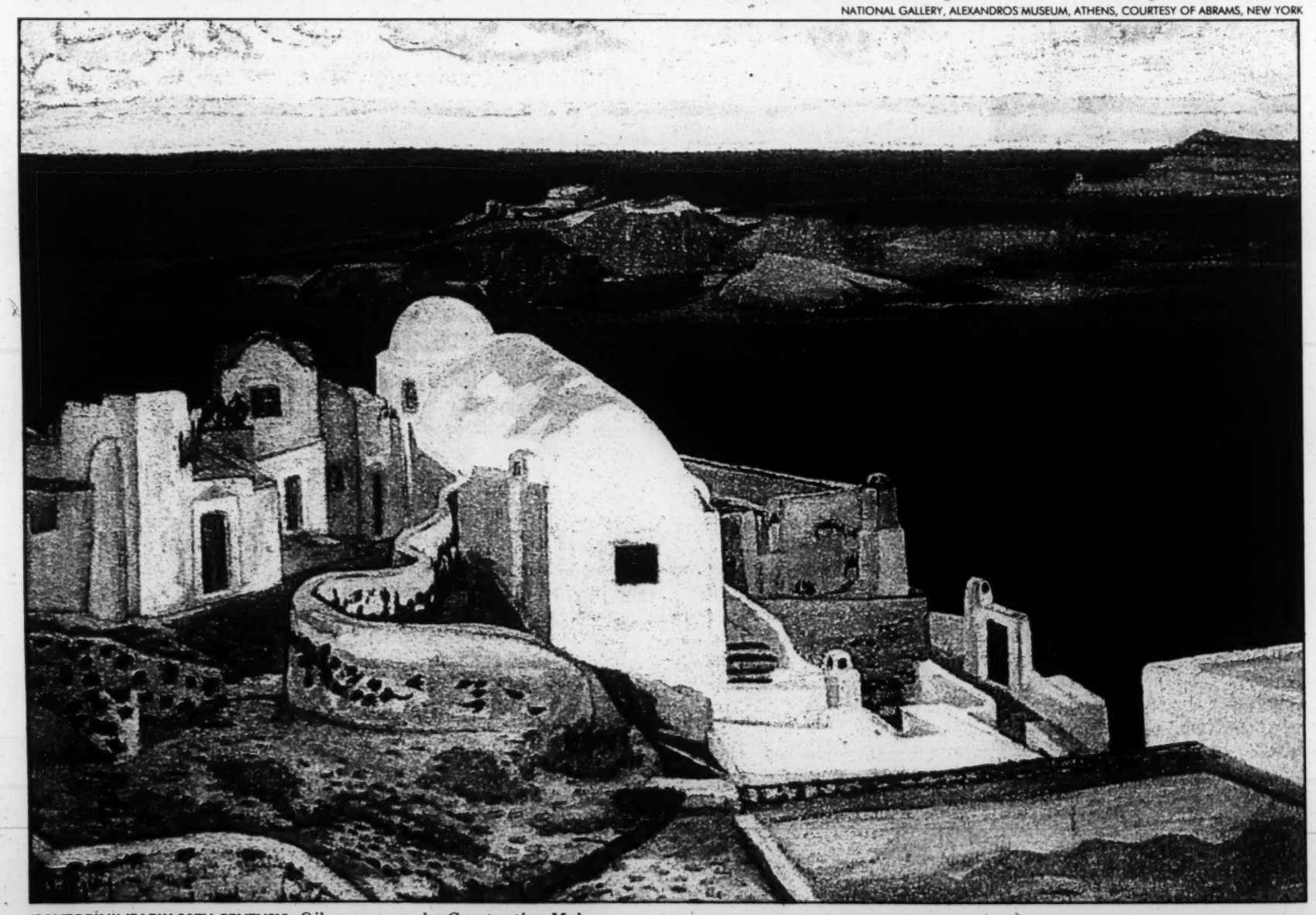
*What is wisdom: What gift of the gods*
*is held in honor like this:*
*to hold your hand victorious*
*over the heads of those you hate?*

A photograph of the stage set for Aeschylus's "The Suppliant Women" in the ancient theater of Epidaurus lies beside a marvelous excerpt from Euripides' play of the same title. The stage set includes crude sculptures suggestive of the ancient warriors and women.

But the excerpt is all about the origins of justice in written law. The sun-washed stage set for one play illuminates the powerful words of the other.

*In earliest days, before the laws are common,*
*One man has power and makes the law his own:*
*Equality is not yet. With written laws,*
*People of small resources and the rich*
*Both have the same recourse to justice. Now*
*A man of means, if badly spoken of,*
*Will have no better standing than the weak;*
*And if the little man is right, he wins*
*Against the great. This is the call of freedom:*

NATIONAL GALLERY, ALEXANDROS MUSEUM, ATHENS, COURTESY OF ABRAMS, NEW YORK



**'SANTORINI' (EARLY 20TH CENTURY):** *Oil on canvas, by Constantine Maleas.*

BENAKI MUSEUM, ATHENS, COURTESY OF PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE AND ABRAMS, NEW YORK

**'THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO, DELPHI' (ca. 1950):** *Photograph by Voula Papaioannou.*

The history of Greek art and thought is the history of Western art and thought; it belongs to us in every ultimate sense. One important source of our contemporary American view of justice and democracy comes from the ancient Greek vision as Euripedes described it here.

That's why Keats's ode speaks so dynamically to us. That's why American poet James Merrill could so vividly articulate a contemporary relationship to an ancient sculpture in "The Charioteer of Delphi."

*For watch, his eyes in*
*the still air alone*
*Look shining and*
*nowhere*
*Unless indeed into our*
*own*

*Who are reflected*
*there....*

The glass eyes of the sculpture reflect the viewer like mirrors – we behold ourselves in this great and aged work. The humanity of the sculptor and his subject reflect our own back at us. In some real way, the ancient artist is still with us.

The poem stands by itself – we need not see the sculpture to understand the poem or to experience its depth and power.

Likewise the sculpture retains its authentic integrity and is in fact the occasion for the poem. But side by side, they reveal another layer of experience for us. The gorgeous humanity of the sculpture and of the poem, the truth of each, is certainly beautiful.

Here is one artist rejoicing in the perception and expression of another – one who is so far removed from our time and present condition that some might think him irrelevant. But he is emphatically relevant.

Out of this hard bronze made 25 centuries ago has arisen the soft grace of a poem. Out of this bronze and this poem may arise an occasion to think about the great questions once more.

The arts feed each other. A book like "Greece in Poetry" demonstrates that – as a poet was directly inspired by the sculpture of a gentle-eyed bronze gentleman holding the fragment of reins.

But there is more to the nurturing effects of one art form on another. Genuine beauty and actual truth always inspire – even when they rattle the cages of our complacencies.

**Marilynne S. Mason**

**'DELPHI CHARIOTEER' (ca. 477):** *Detail of bronze sculpture. Photograph by David Finn, courtesy of the Archeological Museum, Delphi, Greece, and Abrams, New York.*

■ *The photographs on this page are from 'Greece in Poetry,' used with the permission of the publisher.*

# Notice of Eviction

SOMETIMES bad things, like eviction notices, urge us to look harder for God's blessings—and find them!

When I was a new student of Christian Science, I read everything that I could borrow from our neighborhood Christian Science Reading Room. I found the children's books especially delightful because they so beautifully and simply expressed God's unconditional love for His offspring (you and me). I had previously imagined God to be wrathful, changeable, judgmental. He was a "big man in the sky." So it took some doing for me to grasp the tenderness and might of God, who is divine Mind.

One children's story that helped me went like this: A mother and her young daughter were riding a bus through a slum area. The girl asked her mother if someone could love God in such a place. The mother explained that if you *understood* the absolute goodness of Love, either the circumstances in the slum would improve or you would leave those conditions.

The story had deep meaning for me because I felt that I lived in bad conditions. I was a single mother trying to raise two young children. Our rented house was run-down. I had a limited budget, which meant, I thought, that I could not move or pay higher rent or pay moving expenses. I felt trapped.

***The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article***

Then it got worse: an eviction notice arrived in the mail. My first reaction was panic. But before I became completely paralyzed by panic, I turned to God in prayer. I also asked a friend to pray with me. We both understood that we needed to turn to and trust Love—God—in *all* circumstances. We began first by changing our view of the eviction. People often see eviction notices, pink slips, and other terminations as devastating. But, as we found, when we trust God's love and tender care for His creation, they can also catalyze wonderful spiritual progress. As Christ Jesus assures us in the Bible, in Matthew's Gospel, "Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him."

While I prayed, I also took steps to find a new home. I looked at many three-bedroom apartments. All were well out of my price range, and I was still unable to afford the moving expenses.

I prayed persistently. As I began to understand better that God is Love and that Love knows only good, I realized that I am special—as is each person as God's child. It may take work to grasp how great our God is, but as I prayed, I came to see the omnipotence of divine Love and the fact that man is the reflection of Love's goodness. I began to trust that I would find the right apartment. I came to see that one is never evicted from God's love. One by one, the problems began to be solved.

One day while I was praying, the thought came that I should look at two-bedroom apartments with an eye to adaptation. Within days I found the perfect apartment. It had a family room that could be converted into the needed third bedroom, and I could afford the rent. Then a close relative gave me enough money to cover the moving expenses. A friend had curtains that "just fitted." The new apartment met our needs so well that we stayed ten years.

Never before had I felt so special or felt that my children's needs were so beautifully met. The Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy, gives us this assurance in *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures:* "Divine Love always has met and always will meet every human need." I find it takes diligence to accept my God-given heritage of freedom. But even beginners, like I was, can reap the blessings of understanding divine Love's provision.

**SCIENCE AND HEALTH**
***with Key to the Scriptures*** **by Mary Baker Eddy**
This 700 page book is the complete statement of Christian Science.
NAME _____
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Write to Science and Health, P.O. Box 1875, Boston MA 02117
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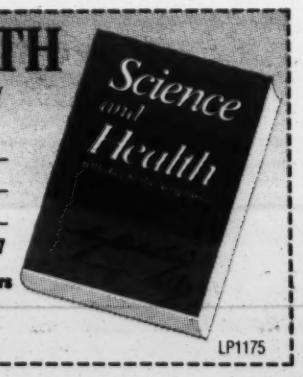


"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

# Don't Relax Basic Rights

THE first official international human rights conference in 25 years opens in Vienna June 14. This United Nations conference of 183 nations is well timed. As the world moves into a still undefined post-cold-war era, the basic principles of the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights must be reaffirmed. With communist repression at an end, the West ought to lead in firmly setting forth the right of each individual to think, speak, live, and worship freely regardless of gender, race, or creed.

Unfortunately, the reality has been otherwise. During the year leading up to Vienna, the most repressive governments on the planet have been the most active in setting the conference agenda. In preparatory meetings that Western countries ignored, coalitions were formed among key Asian, African, and Latin American nations. Their goal has been to redefine the agreed-upon 1948 bedrock of universal principles of individual human rights into merely "Western concepts" of justice that needn't apply in other cultures.

Smaller Asian countries in particular argue that collective economic well-being must come before individual political rights, the practice of which might bring instability or disorder. Several are worried that Western nations may link trade and aid to human rights performance.

As a result, the United States and other leading democracies face a tough diplomatic fight in reaffirming basic principles. Certainly there are times when Western countries do not live up to their own human rights standards. Yet universal rights must not be compromised – in the name of culture, or *Realpolitik*, or because "everyone else does." Torture, discrimination, repression, unjust imprisonment, and murder cannot be justified on any grounds.

Having lagged, the US is now trying to fight back into the ball game. President Clinton cannot travel to Vienna on behalf of human rights while an embarrassing genocide is occuring in neighboring Bosnia. But Secretary of State Warren Christopher will speak June 14. The US has signed a long-awaited UN agreement on economic, social, and cultural rights, which will give it leverage. Its support of a high commissioner for rights to monitor abuses is a step forward. Agreement on women's rights is the other important aspect of Vienna, though making these rights practical and enforceable is the test.

# Supporting 'Grace Notes'

AT a time when pork is one of the worst words a politician can pronounce and every federal expenditure must be justified on grounds of dire necessity, what chance do the arts stand? In competition with health care and Stealth bombers, who dares hold out a hand for violin lessons?

Yet there is danger in simply dividing yeas and nays between the practical and useful on one side and the decorative but supposedly expendable grace notes of life on the other. A society that fails to protect its sovereignty by guns or feed its hungry with bread would, and should, be found wanting.

But what of a society that, because of its bottom-line priorities, allows music to fall silent? Is a shortage of pianists ultimately less tolerable than a shortage of fighter pilots or MBA entrepreneurs? The community without music is as incomplete as nests without songbirds.

Noting the Draconian cuts in public-school music programs in the United States, Joel Sachs, who teaches music history at the Juilliard School, has remarked, "We now have a whole generation that hasn't had music classes in school." The student body at Juilliard is being recruited from Israel, Japan, Korea, and Russia rather than from the graduates of American schools. In 1964, Juilliard boasted a bigger percentage of foreign students than any institution of higher learning in the United States – 19 percent. But three decades later that proportion has almost doubled, with three out of four piano students coming from abroad. If three out of four baseball players in the US were born and trained elsewhere, what a fuss there would be about a native culture failing to do its job!

How much does it cost to keep a modest music program in public schools? Less than a football team and cheerleaders. But the choices don't have to be either/or. European nations manage to support all the programs the US now funds and with far more generous expenditures in two significant areas, the arts and family care – the agenda of civilization.

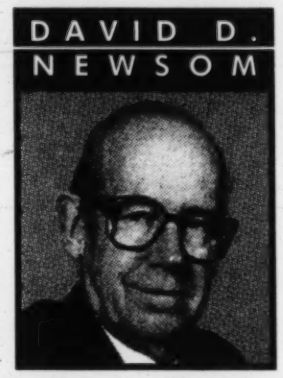
Without some small signal of commitment, no more than the downbeat of a baton or the sound of a tuning fork, the numbers of classical music performers and classical music listeners will continue to diminish.

Songbirds are recognized as endangered species and protected. It is time to preserve a kind of habitat in public schools for those who find that musical notes, even more than words, celebrate the full glory of their lives.

# Consulting Allies: No-Win Act

THE Bosnian crisis has once more brought into focus the issue of trans-Atlantic consultations. Europeans and many Americans have criticized Secretary of State Warren Christopher because, in his consultations with the Europeans on the Balkans crisis, his objective was to listen rather than to present a plan.

In the past, Washington has attempted to keep Europeans informed of United States policies and to consult where possible. But governments on the continent often accused the US of informing them of decisions rather than consulting in advance. In the US capital, it has never been easy to avoid presenting the Europeans with a "fait accompli." When Congress was consulted before the Europeans and the decision leaked, Europeans were upset. If Congress read about decisions being discussed with other governments, legislative ire was aroused. Yet in the days of confrontation with the Soviet Union, Western Europe and the US found common ground on most issues. Always clear, the mission of NATO provided a central focus. In the US, administrations had strong public and congressional support for keeping NATO strong, which made US initiatives possible and credible. Washington's voice was influential also because the US was prepared to commit resources and take reasonable risks to pursue a common goal.




The Gulf war was, perhaps, the last event in which these conditions were likely to prevail. President Bush was firm in his objectives, which European nations generally shared. Despite an uncertain Congress, the president believed he had the support of the public and of the nation's military leaders. Secretary of State James Baker III visited the continent to build a coalition and enlist the support of Allied governments. And the US was prepared to commit substantial forces and resources to the effort.

Regardless of differences over the US policy on Bosnia, one fact is plain: The US is not prepared to risk lives or extended involvement in the former Yugoslavia. The reluctance of European leaders with troops on the ground under the UN flag to agree to US proposals for bombing Serbs and arming the Muslims is understandable. So is their bridling at criticisms from Washington that they lack courage. The US is dropping supplies from high altitudes and flying unchallenged patrols over the territory. However useful, these are not as risky as having UN personnel in armored vehicles operating under restricted rules of engagement seek to deter angry, better-armed Serbs.

Yet Europeans have little grounds for complaining that Mr. Christopher brought them no firm proposals. In new circumstances and with the administration's emphasis on multilateral actions, he sought to make the consultations genuine with the intent of reaching an agreement after the visits. Given the divisions in the administration and in the American body politic, he probably had little choice.

Bosnia represents the first crisis in a period when the trans-Atlantic balance has shifted. Without the Soviet threat or a serious challenge to Western economic interests, Washington is less willing to commit to dramatic and costly efforts. Christopher should be given credit for a genuine attempt at consultation, not criticism for failing to play cards he did not have.

■ *David D. Newsom, former undersecretary of state, is Cumming Memorial Professor of International Affairs at the University of Virginia.*

LETTERS

## Nigeria Strives to Reform Democratically

Regarding the article "Nigeria Waits to See if Military Allows Vote," May 21: President Ibrahim Babangida recently reaffirmed his administration's commitment to relinquish power to a democratically elected president. Formal transfer of power was postponed from January to August this year because of the civilian politicians' failure to conduct free and fair elections for presidential nomination in July 1992. Resulting tensions could lead to civil war and Nigeria's disintegration.

At the request of politicians from both parties, the government canceled the elections and ordered an investigation of the malpractice allegations. The Nigerian National Electoral Commission, an independent body consisting wholly of civilians, recommended postponement of the political transition after verifying these allegations.

General Babangida and his colleagues have been implementing a comprehensive program of social mobilization and political education to instill Nigeria's body politic with the essential ingredients of Western-style democratic culture and to encourage national cohesion. As a result, the primary elections for party presidential nominations resulted in the peaceful emergence of two candidates in March this year. The stage is now set for the presidential election expected to be held this June.

The two decrees mentioned in the article were not aimed at derailing the transition process. The decree increasing the powers of the National Electoral Commission is aimed at deterring a serious breach of the peace during the election. The provision of the decree has been in the Nigerian electoral laws since 1982.

The other decree, on sedition, has been issued to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria. The experience of the civil war is too fresh in our minds for us to be indifferent to those who call for the dismemberment of the nation.

***Zubair M. Kazaure*** ***Washington***
***Nigerian Ambassador to the US***

# Public Attitudes on Bosnia

*New studies show that prevailing wisdom is wrong*

**By Steven Kull and Clay Ramsay**

THE public debate about Bosnia has for months been shaped by an assumption that the American public is self-preoccupied and opposed to military intervention in Bosnia. This assumption is wrong.

Some polls do show strong antipathy to military intervention. In six recent polls an average of 47 percent of the public reacted negatively to a question about sending United States troops to Bosnia, with an average of 43 percent favoring the idea.

However, in five other polls that clarified that US troops would participate in a United Nations operation, support jumped up to an average of 60 percent. In one TIME/CNN poll, support reached 68 percent.

The distinction between unilateral and multilateral intervention is the key variable. In a recent ABC poll that asked whether the US should take military action alone, opposition shot up to 68 percent.

The public follows a similar pattern on the question of US airstrikes against Serbian artillery and supply lines.

In seven different polls that asked whether the US should make airstrikes, the average level of support was 39 percent – with 49 percent opposed. But in two other polls, specifying that airstrikes would be in conjunction with European allies or part of a UN-approved action, support leapt to an average of 59 percent.

Presumably, it was a failure to discern this distinction in public thinking that lead congressional leaders, earlier this month, to tell the president that the American public would not support having 20,000 troops participate in UN peacekeeping force to implement the Vance-Owen plan should the Bosnian Serbs agree to it.

However, three polls found that, on average, 64 percent of the public favored the idea.

During the same period, an ABC poll found that 76 percent thought the UN should set a deadline for the Serbs to fall in line or "face allied military action."

To find out more about the thinking underlying these trends, we conducted a nationwide survey asking citizens to evaluate a series of common arguments about Bosnia.

The argument that the largest number of respondents (68 percent) found most convincing is that since the war in Bosnia is a war of aggression by Serbia, the UN principle of collective security obliges UN members to help defend the Bosnian government. Sixty-seven percent found convincing the moral argument that "ethnic cleansing" is a form of genocide and that the US should take strong steps to stop it.

POLLY BECKER

Does this mean US officials can assume the public will support UN-sponsored military intervention in pursuit of a moral world order – and ignore any public trend toward isolationism?

Not necessarily. Fifty-three percent also found convincing the argument that the US has no real interests in Bosnia and that the US should focus on problems at home.

Forty-eight percent responded to an argument against committing US troops "even as part of a UN operation" because "there is too great a chance of becoming bogged down like in Vietnam." Most of those who supported military intervention were also skittish about how long it would take.

Evidently isolationist trends are not simply the thinking of a marginal group but rather a tendency in a large portion of the population, which even includes many who support military intervention. But in the battle of principles going on between and within Americans, there does seem to be some potential for consensus.

The idea that US policy should be guided by a vision that has moral principles and a concept of collective security appears to have an upper hand over the idea that the rest of the world should simply be left to its own inhumane devices. Such activist principles, though, can only be shaped into a viable policy after being forged, at every turn, by healthy doubts about whether the game is really worth the candle – especially when American lives are put at risk.

And, most importantly, the American public is quite definite that no matter how enamored we may be with our vision of a desirable world order, the US must not charge out ahead of the rest, but must move with the world as it evolves.

■ *Steven Kull and Clay Ramsay are respectively director and a fellow at the Program for International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland in College Park.*

# Our Fathers' Harvard Degrees

FOR 50 years in five gardens in four states, the cardinal has come. Memorial Day weekend in the North is the time to plant the frost-sensitive species: basil, eggplants, tomatoes. And at dusk on the appointed evening, plants watered, the tomato stakes in the ground, tools put away, I waited at the side window ... and there, sure enough, a fluttering from the hemlock, alighting on a white stake – the crimson exclamation mark of continuity from my father's garden to mine.

Time is an illusion. There is a contemporaneity of consciousness. Precepts my father practiced were present with me as I reenacted the provider's ritual: Correctly turned-over soil requires no raking. A right rhythm carries from start to finish. Design is often best improvised out of action; waiting too long for the correct plan, one may never start.

In a few days my Harvard classmates will meet in nearby Cambridge for our 35th reunion. Harvard's color, crimson, is the exclamation mark in our family's education.

There were always tears in Dad's eyes when I would go away to school. He would wipe them away with his thick hands. Mom took it better. The dog would run to the window to look for me, they said, whenever they mentioned my name.

RICHARD J. CATTANI

The first days at college, all of us young men were shy – even those who showed bravado – trying one another out. How would we fit into into this academic world? Had we not all been among the best students where we came from?

I had arrived after midnight at Apley Court, near Harvard Square. My roommates, Ed McKirdy and George Skokan, both from New Jersey, were asleep. I hauled my trunk up the five floors to our room. In the morning I had to deliver the car to New York and take the train back to Boston, so our real introduction was delayed.

The friendships I made in the next few weeks remain today. McKirdy, now a lawyer, was the funniest person we'd ever met. In Yiddish, Italian, Spanish, and French for real, and other languages in mimicry, with persona after persona, McKirdy immobilized us with laughter.

Mike Rogin and Bill Palmer, George Klems became my next roommates as a flock of us freshman from Apley went on together to Leverett House, where the circle of lifelong friends expanded. At Leverett we had a one-act play tradition at the drama society: McKirdy won the lead in "The Questioning of Nick," a short play by the undergraduate Dunster House playwright Arthur Kopit.

In the house dining hall, at the all-night Hayes-Bickford diner, the conversation would go on and on. Kierkegaard, Camus, Freud. Avant-garde novelists. Seldom politics. This was the Eisenhower era, after all. And Dick Dubrow, president of the Young Republicans Club, carried on a rather lonely argument.

Most of my class I never met. The house system – dormitories with their own libraries, social rooms, extracurricular groups, senior tutors, and attached academic dignitaries – effectively formed social units. One would meet other undergraduates in the courses and seminars one took; a field of inquiry formed a second social circle, which took in the Radcliffe College women's contingent. So the campus bond was strongest among housemates.

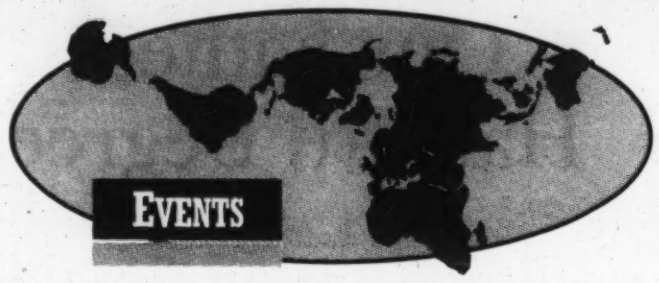
Dad's first visit to Harvard was for my commencement. He was intoxicated with excitement. Five hundred dollars a year he had paid, a tenth of what he earned, a fourth of the yearly bill.

What interest have we sons earned on our fathers' investments?

The largest group of us is in education, our class report says, then medicine and law. We're averaging $170,000 in yearly income – $12,500 for creative artists, $430,000 for those in finance. (Someone might have had the grace not to report he's making $3 million.) Alcoholics Anonymous and jobs-networking sessions are scheduled for our reunion. Nine in 10 classmates would go to Harvard if they had it to do again. Nearly 80 percent go to church: So much for atheism at Harvard. The economy and racial tension, we think, are the most serious issues of our time.

With only hours to go before I meet classmate friends and strangers, I feel the shyness of a youth sent by a father to take another of life's examinations.

■ *Richard J. Cattani is the Monitor's editor.*




**FRANCE APPROVES FARM TRADE DEAL**

France on June 8 ended its resistance to a transatlantic oil-seeds deal that aims to end a long and bitter farm trade dispute between the United States and the European Community. The decision marks a turnaround for the French government, which had threathened to veto the accord reached by EC and US negotiators last November. France retained its opposition to a wider transatlantic farm deal that it judged prejudicial to European farmers. Militant French farmers have pressured the government to reject the oil-seeds deal. The approval of the accord allows the EC to avoid threathened US sanctions that would have taken effect June 30 on close to $2 billion worth of European wine, cognac, and dairy products.

**Kuwait ends boycott**

Kuwait said June 8 it has ended its participation in an Arab boycott of Israel that blacklisted foreign companies dealing with the Jewish state. But Kuwait is still committed to an economic embargo that prohibits the Arabs from establishing direct financial or commercial links with Israel.

**Liberian massacre**

The death toll in the June 6 Liberian massacre at the world's biggest rubber plantation has risen to at least 350, with some 700 reported wounded. Earlier reports had put the death toll at 300 in the worst atrocity in the nation's civil war. Many survivors blamed Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia rebels, but Mr. Taylor denied that his men were responsible.

**Economic plan**

The White House agreed in a meeting with Senate Democratic leaders June 7 to accept more spending cuts and to scale back the proposed energy tax in an effort to breathe new life into President Clinton's economic program so that it would pass the Senate. Congressional leaders planned on June 8 to further explore the possibility of a compromise.

**Chinese immigrants**

Federal officials in Santa Ana, Calif., June 8 were holding 26 illegal Chinese immigrants who were abandoned Sunday in a parking lot by a smuggler. The immigrants had come by ship from China to Mexico, from where they crossed the US border some four days earlier. Meanwhile, in the New York City incident in which a ship ran aground and eight Chinese immigrants died, a mutiny occurred near the voyage's end. The man hired to watch over nearly 300 Chinese being smuggled overpowered the captain and locked him below deck. The captain, 10 crew members, and the smuggler's alleged contact were charged June 7 with conspiring to smuggle aliens.

**Egypt bomb**

A bomb dropped from an overpass exploded in traffic on the road leading to the Giza Pyramids on June 8, killing an Egyptian and injuring 14, including five British tourists. There was no claim of responsibility. More than 150 people, mostly extremists and police, have died in violence related to the extremists' anti-government campaign since January 1992.

**Khmer Rouge**

The Khmer Rouge vowed June 8 to wage war if Hun Sen's Phnom Penh government refused to give up power to the opposition party FUNCINPEC that won Cambodia's elections. The guerrilla group hinted in a news conference that it would support FUNCINPEC but was careful not to directly endorse the election results. The Khmer Rouge boycotted the voting.

**French killing**

Rene Bousquet, accused of deporting Jews while head of the national police in Nazi-occupied France during World War II, was killed in his Paris apartment June 8. He had been charged with crimes against humanity. The case had not been brought to trial, but a ruling was expected within days that could have cleared the way for prosecution. Police said a man calling himself Christian Didier claimed to be the killer. He was arrested, but police gave no indication whether his claim was credible. Mr. Didier served time in prison for trying to kill Gestapo officer Klaus Barbie, then was jailed again while facing war crimes.

**– Compiled by Shelby Siems**

*Black and white leaders present an image of conciliation to garner support for new society*

# South Africa Seeks Global Aid

THE WORLD FROM JOHANNESBURG

AS the end of apartheid draws nearer, black and white leaders in South Africa are presenting a united front to show the international community that reconciliation is under way. The effort is more than just imagemaking – South Africans care what the world thinks because they want massive international assistance to build a new society here.

In a poignant moment on June 5, two men who stand as symbols of the effort to bring blacks and whites together peacefully – one a leader of the African National Congress, the other a minister in South Africa's government – were jointly honored by the University of Massachusetts.

ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa and chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer – dressed like twins in red-and-blue academic gowns, hoods, and black mortar boards – shook hands as they received honorary law degrees.

Twenty-four hours earlier they shared the Man of the Year Award from the ANC-leaning New Nation weekly newspaper and the Engen oil corporation at a gala occasion presided over by ANC President Nelson Mandela.

Mr. Mandela hugged Mr. Meyer after he received the award. It was the first time Mandela was seen giving this traditional African greeting to a member of the ruling National Party government.

"It was one of those moments where emotion takes over," says a Western diplomat who attended the dinner.

"There are few historical precedents for such a meeting-of-minds between sworn adversaries," he says. "But the question is: How long will they be able to sustain it?"

New Nation marked the joint award with a 16-page supplement that included a personal profile describing Meyer as "a man to watch." He is a clear favorite for a top job in an ANC-dominated transitional government.

Ramaphosa, a former mineworkers' boss with a flare for negotiations, and Meyer, the mild-mannered Constitutional Development minister, have a personal relationship that has survived major breakdowns in the talks. Masters in choreographed optimism, the two have been largely credited with the tentative setting of a date for the country's first democratic ballot on April 27, 1994.

They have also paved the way for a July 4 ceremony when President Frederik de Klerk and Mandela will jointly receive the Philadelphia Freedom Medal after meeting President Clinton in Washington.

In an interview with Time magazine this week, Mandela gave advance warning that he will use the occasion to appeal for a US commitment to "massive measures of assistance" once elections have been held. He also said he is ready to call for the lifting of international economic sanctions earlier than planned.

The ANC had insisted that the sanctions remain in place until after an election. But Mandela said in the interview that once a multiracial transitional authority is in place, "we would call off sanctions."

The lifting of sanctions will be a green light for international organizations such as the World Bank, which is poised to grant a $1 billion loan to the country, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to give monetary assistance.

Mandela made clear that he was expecting a collective response from the group of seven leading industrialized nations (G-7) similar to the West's Marshall Plan for Europe after World War II.

His view was reflected in comments by South Africa's ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz.

"We would like to see an economic package coming from the G-7 the same as it has for the Russian Federation," he told a recent news conference in Washington.

**– John Battersby**